

THE MONTH

A Catholic Magazine and Review.

OCTOBER, 1884.

CONTENTS.

1. JOHN WYCLIF, HIS LIFE AND TEACHING. Part the Third.
By the Rev. Joseph Stevenson 153
2. FATHER CURCI AND THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS 171
3. THE STORY OF MY LIFE. *By J. M. Capes, M.A.* 182
4. THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY. *By E. M' Mahon* 206
5. LINES ON MURILLO'S PICTURE, "THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION." *By Aubrey de Vere* 219
6. SOME INTRINSIC EVIDENCES OF THE GOSPELS' GENUINENESS.
Part the Second. *By Arthur Yates* 223
7. GLOVES. *By Ellis Schreiber* 237
8. A CO-OPERATIVE FARM IN IRELAND FIFTY YEARS AGO. *By Richard J. Kelly* 247
9. WHAT SHALL WE READ. *By the Very Rev. Canon Wenham* 260
10. BREAKSPERE: A TALE. *By J. R. Morell* 271
 Chapters XXIV., XXV.

REVIEWS

1. Allocations to the Clergy and Pastorals of the late Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry. 2. Luther: an Historical Portrait. *By Dr. Verres.* 3. Our Lady of Good Counsel. *By the Very Rev. Mgr. Dillon.* 4. The Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Collected and arranged by Henry F. Brownson. Vol. X. 5. Shakespeare's Stellung zur Katholischen Religion. Von Dr. J. M. Raich. 6. Voyage sur les bords de la Néva. Par Madame de Grival.

LITERARY RECORD

- I.—Books and Pamphlets.
- II.—Magazines.

LONDON:
OFFICE OF THE MONTH, 48, SOUTH ST., GROSVENOR SQ.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES. DUBLIN: M. H. GILL AND SON.
AGENTS FOR AMERICA: MESSRS. JOHN MURPHY AND CO., BALTIMORE.

Price Two Shillings.

All rights of translation and reproduction reserved.

**THE GREAT
BLOOD
PURIFIER
AND
RESTORER.**

"FOR THE BLOOD IS THE LIFE?"

**CLARKE'S
WORLD-FAMED
BLOOD MIXTURE**

**LARGEST SALE
OF ANY
MEDICINE
IN
THE WORLD.**

For cleansing and clearing the blood from all impurities, it cannot be too highly recommended. For Scrofula, Scurvy, Skin and Blood Diseases and sores of all kinds, it is a never-failing and permanent cure. It Cures Old Sores. Cures Ulcerated Sore Legs. Cures Scurvy Sores. Cures Cancerous Ulcers. Cures Glandular Swellings. Cures Blackheads, or Pimples on the Face. Cures Blood and Skin Diseases. Cures Ulcerated Sores on the Neck. Clears the Blood from all impure matter, from whatever cause arising.

As this mixture is pleasant to the taste, and warranted free from anything injurious to the most delicate constitution of either sex, the Proprietors solicit sufferers to give it a trial to test its value.

THOUSANDS OF TESTIMONIALS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

Sold in Bottles 2s. 6d. each, and in cases containing Six times the quantity, 11s. each, sufficient to effect a permanent cure in the great majority of long-standing cases. BY ALL CHEMISTS AND PATENT MEDICINE VENDORS throughout the world, or sent on receipt of 30 or 132 stamps by the Proprietors, THE LINCOLN & MIDLAND COUNTIES' DRUG COMPANY, LINCOLN.

(TRADE MARK "BLOOD MIXTURE.")

THE UNIVERSAL HOUSEHOLD REMEDIES!!!

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS & OINTMENT

These excellent FAMILY MEDICINES are invaluable in the treatment of all ailments incidental to every HOUSEHOLD. The PILLS PURIFY, REGULATE, and STRENGTHEN the whole system, while the OINTMENT is unequalled for the cure of Bad Legs, Bad Breasts, Old Wounds, Sores and Ulcers. Possessed of these REMEDIES, every Mother has at once the means of curing most complaints to which herself or Family is liable.

N.B.—Advice Gratis at 78, New Oxford Street, late 533, Oxford Street, London, daily between the hours of 11 and 4, or by letter.

OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA

(ESTABLISHED 60 YEARS).

The best and only certain remedy ever discovered for Preserving, Strengthening, Beautifying, or Restoring the

HAIR, WHISKERS, OR MOUSTACHES,
And Preventing them Turning Grey.

PRICE 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. PER BOTTLE.

C. & A. OLDRIDGE,

22, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

And all Chemists and Perfumers.

For Children it is invaluable, as it forms the basis of a magnificent head of hair, prevents baldness in mature age, and obviates the use of dyes and poisonous restoratives.



SAPO CARBONIS CURES ALL VARIETIES OF **SKIN DISEASES** **TAR SOAP**

RECOMMENDED BY THE ENTIRE **MEDICAL PROFESSION.**

W. V. WRIGHT & CO.
SOUTHWARK LONDON.

PROTECTS FROM **FEVERS, SMALL POX, AND SCARLATINA.**

WRIGHT'S COAL **DETERGENTS**

SOLD EVERYWHERE
NONE GENUINE EXCEPT BRANDED
SAPO CARBONIS DETERGENTS

ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE,
OLD HALL, WARE, HERTS.

PRESIDENT—THE VERY REV. P. FENTON.
VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. WILLIAM LLOYD.

The College is situated within thirty miles of London, on the main road to Cambridge. The nearest station is Standon (about a mile and a quarter distant) on the Great Eastern Railway.

The courses of studies are variously adapted for (1) candidates to the priesthood, (2) those who are destined for the learned profession or for careers involving competitive examinations, and (3) those who are intended for commercial life.

For the COMMERCIAL or MODERN division great stress will be laid on précis writing, shorthand, mental arithmetic, and English composition.

For the CLASSICAL and SCIENTIFIC division the College is affiliated to the London University.

ST. HUGH'S PREPARATORY SCHOOL
(Adjoining the College).

PRESIDENT—THE VERY REV. P. FENTON.
VICE-PRESIDENT—REV. EDWARD ST. JOHN.

An experienced matron superintends all that relates to the health and comfort of the children.
FOR PARTICULARS APPLY TO THE VERY REV. THE PRESIDENT.

MOTTINGHAM HOUSE,
MOTTINGHAM, NEAR ELTHAM, KENT.

TWELVE MINUTES WALK FROM ELTHAM STATION.

(Removed from Blenheim House, Lee).

Establishment for the Preparation of Candidates for the Examinations for admission to the ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY, WOOLWICH; ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE, SANDHURST. Also for the MILITIA, PRELIMINARY, LITERARY, AND FINAL EXAMINATIONS.

PRINCIPAL . . . REV. E. VON ORSBACH,
Late Tutor to their Highnesses the Princes of Thurn and Taxis.

TUTORIAL STAFF:

Higher Mathematics	G. Merrit Reeves, Esq., M.A.; 13th Wrangler, 1873; late Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge.
Mathematics	J. A. Pease, Esq., and C. Simpson, Esq.
Classics : Latin and Greek	The Principal.
English : Language and History . .	J. A. Prout, Esq., B.A. Oxon.
French Language	Mons. Victor Lemaire, M.A. Licencié-ès-Lettres, Paris.
German Language	The Principal.
Sciences : Geology, Physics, and Chemistry	Professor J. Morris.
Geography : Physical	The Principal and J. Morris, Esq.
Political	The Principal.
Drawing : Geometrical, Freehand, and Perspective	J. A. Pease, Esq.
Preliminary Subjects	The Principal and C. Simpson, Esq.
Drill and Fencing	Sergeant F. Myers, R.M.A., Woolwich.

The pupils have the privilege of daily Mass in the house.

FOR PARTICULARS APPLY TO THE PRINCIPAL.

RECORDS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

BY HENRY FOLEY, S.J.

THE Editor begs to inform the literary and antiquarian public that a revised reprint of the second volume of this series, which had become exhausted, has been issued to enable purchasers to obtain complete sets.

This extensive work, in eight thick demy 8vo volumes, contains much information about Catholic affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is probably the fullest record extant of the sufferings of Catholics, and the working of the odious penal laws, including Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688. The history embraces all the English counties, with numerous biographies of martyrs and confessors, portraits and notices with pedigrees of old Catholic families, whilst the seventh volume (in two parts), presents the entire English Province from 1622 to 1773, and a complete alphabetical *Collectanea*, with short biographical and genealogical notices of all its deceased members, from the earliest date to the present time, and a Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Members of the Society from the year 1556 to 1814.

Price to Subscribers, 21s. each. Apply to the Editor, 111, Mount Street, London, W.; or Mr. Stanley, Roehampton, S.W. To non-Subscribers, through Messrs. Burns and Oates, publishers, Orchard Street, W., 26s. each net. for Vols. I. II. IV. VI. and VII. (parts 1 and 2), and 30s. each net. for Vols. III. and V.

ESTABLISHED 1730.

Prize Medal Wax Candles with Platted Wicks. Patented.

2s. 2d. and 2s. per lb.

Prize Medal Vegetable Candles for Church use.

1s. 5d., 1s. 3d., and 1s. 1d. per lb.

N.B.—Twopence per lb. on Wax, and one penny per lb. on Vegetable Candles charged extra if credit be taken over three months.

Vegetable Oil for Sanctuary Lamps.

(Selected and Imported specially for this purpose).

Pure Incense, with ordinary care, warranted to burn without flame,

2s. 6d., 3s., 3s. 6d., 4s., 6s., 8s., and 10s. per 11b. tin.

Candles of every description, Night Lights, Oils, Starches, and all other articles for domestic purposes.

HOUSEHOLD and LAUNDRY SOAPS, well dried and fit for immediate use.

Toilet Soaps of all kinds.

THE REFINED PALE YELLOW SKIN SOAP, producing an agreeable softness to the skin, 1s. per box containing five tablets.

Religious Houses, Institutions, Schools, &c., placed upon the most favourable terms. Goods delivered free within the postal district, and carriage paid beyond it to the nearest country railway station on orders not less than £5 in value.

For Price Lists, Diagrams, and full particulars, address

FRANCIS TUCKER AND CO.,

18, SOUTH MOLTON STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE; or, MANUFACTORY, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

The only Catholic Establishment in England for the Manufacture of Wax and Church Candles.

FRANCISCAN CONVENT OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,

Portobello Road, Bayswater, W.

Under the special patronage of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

The Religious of this Community receive a limited number of young ladies for education. The terms for the course are £50 per annum, which comprises all the usual branches of a sound English education, in which Latin, French, German, and every kind of needlework, are included. Music, drawing, and dancing are extras. The recreation grounds are spacious, and the locality a most healthy one. Children remaining at School for the Summer Vacation are taken to the sea-side.

For further particulars apply to the Mother Abbess.

CONVENT OF NOTRE DAME, CLAPHAM COMMON, NEAR LONDON.

The Course of Studies comprises all branches of a Higher Education.

Young Ladies whose parents desire it are prepared for the University and Preceptors' Local Examinations.

The pupils who have attended these Examinations in 1880-81-82-83, have been most successful.

CONVENT SCHOOL, MARK CROSS, TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

Conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, from St. Leonard's-on-Sea. The pension is £18 per annum. Inclusive terms. Music, 15s. per quarter. Entrance Fee, £1 1s.

QUARTERLY SERIES.

- The Baptism of the King.** Considerations on the Sacred Passion. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- The Christian Reformed in Mind and Manners.** By Father Benedict Rogacci, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- The Chronicle of St. Antony of Padua,** the "Eldest Son of St. Francis." 3s. 6d.
- Life of the Ven. Claude de la Colombiere.** 5s.
- Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great:** an Old English Version. 6s.
- An English Carmelite: The Life of Catharine Burton,** Mother Mary Xaveria of the Angels. By Father Thomas Hunter, S.J. 6s. 6d.
- A Gracious Life (1566—1618);** being the Life of Madame Acarie (Blessed Mary of the Incarnation). By Emily Bowles. 6s.
- The History of the Sacred Passion.** By Father Luis de la Palma, of the Society of Jesus. Third Edition. 7s. 6d.
Also, a cheaper Edition of the same, on thin paper, 5s.
- The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ.** In Meditations for every day in the Year. By P. N. Avancino, S.J. Two Vols. 10s. 6d.
- Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.** By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. Two Vols. 15s.
Cheap Edition. Two vols. in one. 9s.
- Life of Anne Catharine Emmerich.** By Helen Ram. 5s.
- Life of Lady Falkland.** By Lady G. Fullerton. 5s.
- Life of Henrietta d'Osseville** (in Religion, Mother Ste. Marie). By the Rev. John George M'Leod, S.J. 5s. 6d.
- Life of Margaret Mostyn** (Mother Margaret of Jesus). By the Very Rev. Edmund Bedingfield. 6s.
- Life of our Life:** The Harmony of the Gospels, arranged with Introductory and Explanatory Chapters, Notes, and Indices. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. Two Vols. 15s.
- Life of St. Jane Frances Fremyot de Chantal.** By Emily Bowles. 5s. 6d.
- Life of the Blessed John Berchmans.** By the Rev. F. GOLDIE, S.J. 6s.
- Life of the Blessed Peter Favre.** From the Italian of Father Boero. 6s. 6d.
- Life of King Alfred the Great.** By the Rev. A. G. Knight. 6s.
- Life of Mother Mary Teresa Ball.** By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 6s. 6d.
- Life and Letters of St. Teresa.** Vol. I. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- Life of Mary Ward.** By Mary C. E. Chambers. Vol. I. 7s. 6d.
- Pious Affections towards God and the Saints.** Meditations for every day in the Year. By the Ven. Nicolas Lancicus, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- Public Life of our Lord Jesus Christ.** By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. Seven Volumes. Each 6s. 6d. Others in preparation.
- The Return of the King.** Discourses on the Latter Days. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- Story of St. Stanislaus Kostka.** 3s. 6d.
- Story of the Gospels.** Harmonized for Meditation. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- Sufferings of the Church in Brittany during the Great Revolution.** By Edward Healy Thompson, M.A. 6s. 6d.
- Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions.** By the Rev. Alfred Weld, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- Three Catholic Reformers of the Fifteenth Century.** By Mary H. Allies. 6s.
- Thomas of Hereford, Life of St.** By Father Lestrangle. 6s.
- Works and Words of our Saviour,** gathered from the Four Gospels. By the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. 7s. 6d.
- * * (*In October.*) **Gaston de Segur,** by F. Partridge, and **The Tribunal of Conscience,** by Father Druzicki.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES.

Burns & Oates' New List.

JUST OUT.

A PHILOSOPHICAL CATECHISM FOR BEGINNERS.

By PROF. ST. GEORGE MIVART.

Section I. Consciousness and Certitude. II. Self-evident Truths. III. The External World. IV. The Higher and the Lower Faculties. V. Moral Goodness. VI. Man and the Brutes. VII. The True Philosophy. VIII. Free Will. IX. God and Religion. X. Advantages of the True Philosophy.

Cloth, price 1s.

NEW BOOKS.

Annus Sanctus: Hymns of the Church for the Ecclesiastical Year.

Translated from the Sacred Offices by various Authors, with Modern, Original and Other Hymns, and an Appendix of Earlier Versions. Selected and arranged by ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. In stiff boards, 3s. 6d.; also, a limited edition in cloth, printed on larger-sized, toned and ribbed paper, price 10s. 6d., for Presents, Prizes, &c.

Church Music. A Discourse given in St. Chad's Cathedral on the half jubilee of its Choir. By BISHOP ULLATHORNE. 6d.

Sermon on Drunkenness. By the same. 2d.

Love of Jesus to Penitents. By CARDINAL MANNING. 7th edition. 1s. 6d.

Luther. An Historical Portrait. By Rev. J. VERRES, D.D. Price, cloth, 12s. net.

This work is the result of a careful study of Luther's original works. His own words, mostly also in the original languages, are given as a proof of the statements made about his treatment of the Bible, his "Evangelium," his views on Matrimony and bigamy, the fruits of the Reformation, his character, &c.

Men and Women as they appeared in Far-off Time. By S. HUBERT BURKE, Author of the *Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty*. Cloth gilt, 4s.

Miraculous Episodes of Lourdes. By HENRI LASSERRE. Continuation and Second Volume of *Our Lady of Lourdes*. Translated from the 17th edition, with the express permission of the Author, by M. E. MARTIN. Blue cloth, extra gilt, 5s.

Missal for the Laity. 16mo. New edition. 5s.

Popular Manual of Church History. New edition. Cloth, 2s.

Words on the Rosary. By the Right Rev. JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. Price 1d.

The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel. A History of the ancient Sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Counsel in Genazzano, and of the Wonderful Apparition and Miraculous Translation of her Sacred Image from Scutari in Albania to Genazzano in 1467. With an Appendix of the Miraculous Crucifix, San Pio, Roman Ecclesiastical Education, &c. By the Right Rev. Mgr. GEORGE F. DILLON, D.D., a Visitor from Sydney to the Shrine. Handsomely bound in blue cloth, extra gilt, 12s. 6d.

NOW READY.

Catholic Belief: or a Short and Simple Exposition of Catholic Doctrine. By the Very Rev. JOSEPH FAA DI BRUNO, D.D. Fifth edition, price 6d.; by post, 8½d.; also an edition printed on better paper, and bound in cloth with gilt lettering.

READY SHORTLY.

Tour through North Wales with my Wife. By J. RODERICK O'FLANAGAN, B.L., Author of *The Guide to the Blackwater in Munster*. Cloth gilt, with map, 3s. 6d.

Granville Mansions, 28, Orchard Street, London, W.
AND 63, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

MR. BARRAUD,
263, Oxford Street, London, W. (Regent Circus).
PHOTOGRAPHY IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.

ENLARGEMENTS, MINIATURES, &c.

PRICE LISTS ON APPLICATION.

MR. RUSKIN, the greatest Art Critic of the age, writing of Mr. Barraud's Portraits, says :—
“They are extremely and singularly beautiful, and as pure Photography go as far as the art can at the present day, and I do not see that it can ever go much further.”

GROUPS AND CHILDREN TAKEN INSTANTANEOUSLY.

The Studio is approached by a Patent Lift, and is the most perfect ever erected in this country.

PRIZE MEDALS AWARDED,

DUBLIN, 1865. PARIS, 1867. HONOURABLE MENTION INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION, 1862.
VIENNA, 1873.

BOOK BINDING,

In the Monastic, Grolier, Maioli, and Illuminated Styles,

In the most superior manner, by English and Foreign Workmen.

JOSEPH ZAEHNSDORF,

36, CATHERINE STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, W.C.

WILLIAM LEWIS AND SON,

Architects, Surveyors, Measurers and Valuers,
and Land Agents,

46½, STONEGATE, YORK.

VANHEEMS AND WHEELER,

Exclusively Clerical Tailors.

The only House in England which is conversant with the Roman formula in respect to the canonical dress of the Catholic Hierarchy.

47, Berners Street, London, W.

Wanted to Purchase.—The following early numbers of “The Month :” July to December 1864 (Vol. I.), September 1864, February and March 1865, January 1866. Any one possessing copies of these numbers, and willing to dispose of them, is requested to communicate with Mr. James Stanley, Manresa Press, Rochampton, S.W.

A. M. D. C.

MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, CHESTERFIELD, DERBYSHIRE.

Conducted by the Jesuit Fathers.

This College provides a thoroughly sound classical and commercial education at a very moderate Pension. The course of studies is directed to Matriculation at the London University. The College is situated nine miles from Sheffield, seven miles from Chesterfield, and one mile from Eckington Station (N.M.R.).

For particulars apply to the Rector, Rev. JOHN CLAYTON, Mount St. Mary's, Chesterfield; Rev. PETER GALLWEY, III, Mount Street, London; Rev. JAMES CLARE, 8, Salisbury Street, Liverpool; Rev. W. LAWSON, Portsmouth Street, Manchester; Rev. THOMAS HILL, Trenchard Street, Bristol.

ST. CHARLES' COLLEGE, ST. CHARLES' SQUARE, NOTTING HILL, W.

Founded by H. E. the Cardinal Archbishop, and conducted by the Oblates of St. Charles, assisted by competent Professors.

For particulars apply to the Rector, the Very Rev. R. Butler, D.D.; the Very Rev. Father Superior of the Oblates of St. Charles, St. Mary of the Angels', Bayswater; or the Very Rev. Canon Johnson, D.D., Archbishop's House, Westminster.

The Oblate Fathers take charge of the moral and intellectual training of the Day Scholars equally with that of the Resident Students.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, OSCOTT, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE.

STUDENTS ARE PREPARED FOR THE ARMY, THE NAVY, AND THE PROFESSIONS.

For Terms, &c., apply to the President, as above.

ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE, WEYBRIDGE.

Under the direction of the Josephites,

(A Congregation exclusively devoted to the Teaching of the Upper and Middle Classes).

This College WILL BE REMOVED in September next from CROYDON TO WOBURN PARK, WEYBRIDGE.

"A demesne of great beauty, pleasant woods and lofty heights" (Black's *Guide to Surrey*), beautifully sheltered by a belt of evergreens. The Estate is in a favourite locality, surrounded by private parks, and contains Farm, Kitchen-garden, Bakery, Swimming-bath, Gymnasium, Cricket and Football Field, with Pavilion. An important addition was made in 1878 to the Mansion, and the whole Establishment has been fitted up with all requisites for a First-class College.

The PRINCIPAL FEATURE OF THE COLLEGE will be as heretofore, the care given to the teaching of Modern Languages. A Large Staff of Masters permits personal supervision and individual training. The Course of Studies comprises all the subjects of a Classical and Liberal Education, and is divided into three Departments:

CLASSICAL, MODERN, and PREPARATORY.

Junior Boys occupy a separate building.

The College is within five minutes' walk from Addlestone Station, which is reached in about thirty-five minutes from Waterloo or from Clapham Junction Stations.

For further particulars apply, till September 1st, to the Very Rev. L. O. POWELS, C.J., President, St. George's College, Croydon.

John Wyclif, his Life and Teaching.

PART THE THIRD.

FROM the moment that he became "the peculiar clerk" of the English Sovereign, Wyclif entered upon a new phase of his existence, of which we know very little and respecting which therefore it is necessary that we should speak with all becoming reserve. Yet he does not escape our observation so entirely as to become absolutely invisible; for he himself has drawn aside a corner of the curtain behind which he is hidden so far as to let us see how he is occupied in his new avocation. The paper which he drew up for the guidance of the anticlerical party, with which he now identified himself in the debate about the payments claimed by the Pope, shows us what his new masters expected him to do for them. And it shows something more than this, it shows that he was contented to do it, and to accept the reward, such as it was, which was given for this dishonourable employment. He did not work for nothing. The advantages which his new office held out more than reconciled him to the disgrace which went hand in hand with it. At this we are not surprised, for his previous history shows him to have been a man upon whose conscience the duties and obligations of ordinary life would sit so lightly as to occasion him small discomfort when self-interest demanded that they should be disregarded. He was now on the highroad to obtain the emoluments and honours which were at the disposal of the Crown, so that he became to a great extent indifferent to the approval of the Bishops, perhaps even of the Pope himself. He could now gratify those feelings of hostility to the Church and the clergy at large which have been ascribed to him—correctly, as I think—by more than one of his contemporaries. These exhibit themselves but too plainly in the ill-disguised rancour, the covert insinuations, and the open attacks which are everywhere so painfully conspicuous in his later writings. Wyclif seems to have entered upon the discharge of his new duties

with zeal and energy, and, as far as we can judge, he did not eat the bread of idleness. We trace his hand in the different measures which from time to time occupied the attention of the Parliament, and the consideration of which now claims the attention of the reader. But here a few words of introduction become necessary.

The reign of Edward the Third, after a succession of triumphs almost unexampled in our history, was doomed to end in the humiliation of the people and the disgrace of the Sovereign. The splendid successes which had attended his arms in France and Scotland faded out of sight without having conferred any permanent advantage upon the nation; while the enormous sums which had been so uselessly lavished upon the armies which had gone forth to die in France and Spain had drained off from home the wealth of England and the best of her population. More than one unproductive harvest had raised the necessities of life to famine prices, and they were succeeded by the great pestilences which devastated the realm in 1361 and again in 1369.¹ To add to these troubles, hostilities with France were resumed, and of necessity led to a considerable outlay of the public money. The nation was impoverished, and as a consequence discontented, and it received with an ill-grace the application which was made by the Pope for the payment of the arrears due to him. From the discussion of financial questions Parliament proceeded to inquire into other matters connected with public business, and finally was induced to organize an attack upon the clergy, which in 1371 led to results of considerable significance. It seems to me that in this movement the influence of Wyclif is distinctly perceptible.

In this Parliament "all the earls and barons and the commonalty of England" presented a petition to the King, in which—after reminding him that the "men of Holy Church" by whom the government of the realm had for long been carried on, were not in all cases liable to be judged as others were, whence great mischiefs and damages had arisen in times past, and more might happen in time to come, to the great prejudice of the kingdom—they requested that if laymen who were sufficient and able could be found, they and none other, from henceforth should be made Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Baron of the Exchequer, or any other great officer of State. To this request the King made answer that he would

¹ See Walsingham, i. 296, 309; Knyghton 2626.

consider the matter and discuss it with his council.² The result showed that the ecclesiastical party was the weaker. Sir John Knyvet was appointed Chancellor in the place of William of Wykeham,³ Sir Richard Scrope ousted Thomas de Brantingham, as Treasurer of the Exchequer,⁴ and in furtherance of the same policy the entire Privy Council of the realm passed into the hands of laymen. No more significant intimation could be given as to the spirit in which the government of England was to be carried on for the future. These sentiments find their expression in a small treatise written by Wyclif, as yet unprinted, and of which no copy seems to exist in England.⁵ In it he attacked the mission of the Papal Legate who had been sent by Gregory the Eleventh to collect the sums due to Rome, although this individual had obtained the royal safe-conduct before landing and had taken an oath by which he pledged himself not to infringe upon the rights of the Sovereign.

In this treatise Wyclif suggested that the Papal Nuncio had committed perjury, and that the oath and the office were contradictory. One of its distinguishing features is its frequent reference to the English Parliament, of whose feelings and intentions the writer constitutes himself the representative. It is exactly such a paper as we should expect from the pen of "the King's peculiar clerk." He enlarges upon the duty of providing "pious foundations in behalf of the Church and the poor," as if that duty were inconsistent with another duty, the duty of observing earlier obligations, such as those which had for long existed between Edward and the Papacy. To elevate the temporal power at the expense of the spiritual was the aim of the secularists of the age, and Wyclif did his best to forward the onward progress of the movement.

In the year 1374 another step in the same direction was made by the appointment of Wyclif as a royal commissioner to treat with certain Papal Nuncios who were expected to arrive at Bruges during the course of the summer. The English delegates were John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Simon Sudbury, Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bangor, and certain other personages of inferior rank. Wyclif would seem to have attended in virtue of his position as "the King's peculiar clerk," and his duty was to supply the English Commissioners with such arguments as might overthrow the Papal claims, should any such

² Rot. Parl. ii. 304.

³ *Id.* p. 309.

⁴ Le Neve, i. 372.

⁵ See Lechler, i. 248, to whom I am indebted for all I know about this tractate.

be advanced. The Embassy was provided with authority to conclude such a treaty as should best secure the honour of the Church and preserve the rights of the English Crown and kingdom.⁶

In this capacity Wyclif embarked in London for Bruges on July 27, 1374, and he remained in Flanders until the conclusion of the conference, returning about the middle of the following September. We are in ignorance as well respecting the subjects which were there and then discussed by the Commissioners as the conclusions at which they arrived. It is probable, however, that the meeting led to one important result; it brought together two individuals who, from that time forward, pursued the same line of policy, and were united by the common bond of hostility to the Holy See. John of Lancaster and John Wyclif had much in common. Both desired to introduce into England nearly the doctrines and usages which, at a later period, were systematized by Luther and Calvin, Martyr, Bucer, and Cranmer. Yet on the other hand the Convention of Bruges was not without better results. It contributed in some degree to bring about arrangements which tended for a time to mitigate the bitterness with which the political party in the English Parliament regarded every movement on the side of the Roman Curia. Gregory the Eleventh made certain concessions, which were intended to meet the more urgent of the complaints which had been brought under his notice;⁷ and it was hoped that a better understanding had been attained by the compromise. This, however, would not have satisfied the intentions of the more extreme party among the parliamentary agitators, whose progress I am attempting to illustrate, of whom Wyclif was the most conspicuous; and again we trace his presence in the Parliament which met in the month of April, 1376.

That Parliament began its attack upon the Holy See by presenting a memorial to the Sovereign, in which it attempted to show that the impoverished condition of the realm was the necessary result of its connection with Rome. It complained that prebends and other benefices founded by the Kings of England had been given by the Pope to aliens, who keep no hospitality,

⁶ *Fœd.* vol. iii. p. ii. p. 1,007. The allowance made to him from the Treasury for the expenses of the journey was a handsome one, being at the rate of twenty shillings a day. He received in all £52 2s. 3d.

⁷ *Id.* p. 1,037.

do not reside, and spend nothing in the neighbourhood whence these revenues arise. They were intended to be employed in support of the honour of God, in the maintenance of churches, in h6spitality, in alms, and other works of charity. So long as these good customs existed the nation prospered, but covetousness and simony had come in and the result had been fatal to the country.

The Parliament went on to speak, in violent language, about the amount of gold carried out of England by the agents of those foreign ecclesiastics who had been provided with English benefices by the corrupt liberality of the Holy Father. It estimated the sums thus collected and sent abroad at twenty thousand marks a year, and it urged the passing of a law which should prevent the residence among us of any such collector for the future upon pain of death. Upon each article in its long array of complaints, this petition enlarged with bitter vehemence; and it concluded by assuring the King that his loving subjects who thus addressed him were moved only by an honest zeal for the glory of God and the honour of His Holy Church. Measures of a practical nature were suggested, the acceptance of which was urged upon the King, and all was done by the more extreme section of the agitators which a feverish ingenuity could suggest, in order to bring about a collision between England and the Holy Father,—a collision which it was hoped would end in a separation.⁸

The King endeavoured to allay the agitation. He replied that he was in amicable communication with Rome upon the grievances of which his Parliament had complained, and that the subject should not be forgotten. This reply did not satisfy the revolutionary party, which, in the January of 1377, renewed the agitation with increased vehemence, in the exhibition of which, if I am not mistaken, I again recognize the influence of "the King's peculiar clerk."⁹ But the growing infirmities, mental and bodily, of the English Sovereign held matters for a time in suspense; and the death of Edward the Third, which happened in the course of the year just mentioned, threw the management

⁸ Rot. Parl. ii. 337, seq.

⁹ I do this with the greater confidence since I may here fall back upon the authority of Lechler, who writes as follows: "The proposals of the Good Parliament of 1376, the echoes of which we still catch in 1377, are of such a character, that I am bold to maintain that they afford strong evidence of the influence of Wycliff" (ii. 240). The difference between us is, that the line of conduct, which to the German professor is commendable, to me seems base, treacherous, and worthy of all censure.

of affairs into a different channel, and for a time at least seemed to have acted as a curb upon the further development of the growing heresy.

As early as the month of April, in the year 1374 (shortly, therefore, before his mission to Bruges), John Wyclif had been presented to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, by the King, into whose hands the right of presentation had lapsed, in consequence of the minority of the patron, one of the family of Ferrars of Groby. Wyclif occupied the honourable position of incumbent of Lutterworth when he was summoned by the Convocation which met in February, 1377, to appear before it, in order that he might there answer certain charges which had been brought against him as the teacher of heretical opinions. It was evidently intended to be a trial of strength between the two rival parties, between the adherents of the revolutionary Duke of Lancaster and the Conservative Archbishop of Canterbury and his episcopal brethren. The Duke accepted it in this sense, and he resolved to support the man who had been marked out for censure as his representative; and he did so in a manner and a spirit which were equally offensive and illegal. Accompanied by Lord Henry Percy, then Grand Marshall of England, and supported by a large body of armed retainers, the Duke forced his way into the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's Cathedral, in which the clergy had assembled. The Marshall addressed the Archbishop in unbecoming terms, in which he was seconded by Lancaster, who soon resorted to threats and insults. Certain of the citizens of London, who stood near, overhearing this language, cried out that they would not permit their Bishop to be treated thus disrespectfully, and the feeling on both sides grew so embittered, that an immediate collision was apprehended. Happily this was avoided, and the meeting broke up before a word of argument, of accusation, or defence, had been uttered by either the accuser or the accused.¹⁰

The citizens of London, who thus had stood forward in defence of their Bishop, were speedily made to pay the price of their loyalty. On the very day of the stormy meeting in Convocation a motion was made in Parliament to the effect that the Mayor of London should be deprived of the government of the city, which should be transferred to a nominee of the obnoxious Duke of Lancaster. The indignation of the citizens, thus attacked on a point respecting which they naturally were

¹⁰ Wals. i. 356.

most sensitive, now rose to fever heat, and a wild tumult was the result. The mob was with difficulty prevented from demolishing the Duke's palace, which was saved only by the generous intervention of the Bishop of London, the man who had just before been insulted.¹¹ The turmoil, however, had been productive of one result. It had diverted for a time the inquiry into Wyclif's heretical opinions; and so had encouraged him to believe that he was safe, not only for the present but the future, under the protection of the great Duke of Lancaster.

In this supposition Wyclif was mistaken. The heresies which he had taught for long, and with increasing audacity, could no longer escape without attracting public notice; and now they fell under the cognizance of the Bishops, whose duty and privilege it is to watch over the Divine deposit of the truth. These heretical opinions of his, either propounded by him in the University, or extracted from his writings, had been noted and transmitted to Rome, and the Holy Father, dealing with the charge according to the usual forms of ecclesiastical law, directed that further inquiry should be made into the truth or falsity of the accusation. Five Bulls were issued upon the subject, which directed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to ascertain privately whether certain articles (nineteen in number) contained in a schedule attached to the document had really been propounded by the accused; and if this should prove to have been the case, they were told to forward to Rome a notice to that effect, and then wait for further instructions. Pending this interval, however, the Pope ordered that Wyclif should be detained in prison. The other Bulls contain directions as to how the prelates should act under certain circumstances. Throughout the whole of these instructions to the Bishops, the King, and the University of Oxford, the Pope assumed, as he naturally might do, that each and all would act in support of the civil and ecclesiastical law of the kingdom.¹²

Although these five Bulls bear the date of May 22, 1377, no action resulted from them until the end of that year. In the meantime King Edward the Third had died; this change in the Government, and various other political causes, contributed to the delay in the execution of the Papal writs. When at last they were put in operation, they were not carried out in the exact terms in which they had been conceived. Wyclif, instead

¹¹ Wals. i. 325.

¹² *Id.* p. 345; *Fascic. Zizan.* p. 242.

of being thrown into prison, was cited to appear within the space of thirty days before the Commissioners in St. Paul's Church in London. Apparently it was considered impolitic, perhaps dangerous, to proceed against him with that degree of stringency which at first had been intended.

At the time and place appointed Wyclif presented himself to defend the nineteen theses which had been condemned by the Papal Court. This he did in a written document which is still extant.¹³ The proceedings of the day were interrupted, however, by two events which effectually barred the administration of justice. The Princess of Wales sent a message to the court forbidding the Commissioners to pronounce any final judgment against the accused; and the citizens of London forced their way into the place of meeting (although it was the Archbishop's chapel in Lambeth Palace), where their conduct was so violent and so threatening that the meeting was brought to an abrupt conclusion; a measure which we cannot but regret as being at once undignified and unsatisfactory.

This second failure in the administration of justice, ominously startling as it was in itself, became more so when taken in connection with the events by which it was followed. Shortly after the turbulent gathering at Lambeth, Gregory the Eleventh died, and then followed the great schism, which apparently would have overthrown the Church had not that Church been founded upon the Rock. This combination of evil circumstances contributed, more than aught else, to the progress of the heresy of Wyclif. The disorders which it introduced into the State crippled the action of the Bishops; and during the anarchy which may be dated from this period, error made easy and rapid progress in the overthrow of the old faith of England. While men slept, the enemy came and sowed the tares in God's field, and from that time both have been growing together, and will continue to do so until the harvest.

From this time forward Wyclif is known to us chiefly as a man who had a legal claim to be considered as a parish priest. He left his comfortable rectory only when some urgent occasion demanded, but with comparatively few exceptions Lutterworth formed his chief residence. Yet we must not permit ourselves to imagine that the latter years of his life were spent in quiet repose, much less in dreamy idleness. On the contrary, they were marked by an energy of action which

¹³ Walsingham, i. 357; Lewis, p. 382. See also *Fascic. Zizan.* p. 245.

surprises us not only by its ceaseless activity, but also by the facility with which it originated and carried on to their completion various schemes, all of which are subservient to the gigantic project of evil to which he henceforth devoted the declining years of his existence.

Of these various occupations in which he engaged himself, one of the most important is the preparation of that collection of sermons which passes under his name, and of the most of which he is undoubtedly the author.¹⁴ There is about them a unity of style, a peculiarity of treatment and diction, a personality, so to speak, which enables us to identify them as his own, although no title announces the name of the author. They are well calculated to create a permanent impression; and they cannot but have been very telling productions when delivered with the energy and the rapid eloquence which we are assured were the distinguishing marks of his oratory.

On the other hand, however, they present many difficulties, one especially for which I find no satisfactory explanation.

Wyclif was the rector of an English parish, to the emoluments of which he became entitled in virtue of his promise to discharge the duties attached to it. These duties were well known, they were invariable and inviolable; and no human authority could dispense him from their obligation. One of these duties was to teach the Catholic faith, to practise the Catholic ritual, and to live in obedience to the polity of the Catholic Church. He could not have been put in possession of his benefice without having pledged himself solemnly and in God's Name to discharge these various duties. The precise terms of these several obligations, drawn up with cautious forethought and expressed with a technical skill and precision which makes evasion or subterfuge all but an impossibility, were well known to our Reformer, for he had given his deliberate assent to them at each successive change of benefice; and these changes had been frequent. Yet to all appearance they had no hold upon his conscience. As far as we can judge he violated them without hesitation, and continued to do so till the last day of his life. Perhaps, however, there may be an explanation of this difficulty, which will place his character in a more satisfactory aspect than that in which it now stands before us. It would be unbecoming to discuss this subject at

¹⁴ A large collection of these sermons may be seen in the first and second volumes of the *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Tho. Arnold, M.A., Oxf. 1869.

the present stage of the inquiry, for our information about the honesty of the belauded rector of Lutterworth is scanty and unsatisfactory. We, therefore, refrain from inquiring on the present occasion into the truthfulness and honesty of Wyclif's conduct as rector of Lutterworth. Ere long it will doubtless engage the attention of the learned members of the society which passes under his name; and we shall be curious to see how these boasted manuscript treasures discovered at Vienna will remove the dark cloud which at present veils the bright rays of "The Morning Star of the Reformation."

The religious and political doctrines advocated with so much energy and perseverance by our Reformer and his assistant preachers gradually permeated the lower grades of society, and found a ready response among the more ignorant of the common people. Many of the labouring classes were ripe for insurrection, and nothing more was needed to call it into activity than some trifling provocation. The fatal pestilences which had desolated England in 1349, 1362, and 1369, and the failure of the crops which followed thereupon as a necessary consequence, led to a formidable insurrection. Its proximate occasion was the misconduct of one of the tax-gatherers in Essex, the excited population of which took up arms in vindication of their supposed rights. Having been joined by a corresponding mob of the men of Kent, the united body, which is said to have been about one hundred thousand strong, marched upon London, of which it took possession. There it indulged in the grossest excesses, among which it may be enough to specify the murder of many of the unresisting citizens, the seizure of the King, and the beheading of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵ It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the atrocities which were perpetrated under the name of Liberty; the question with which we are more immediately concerned at the present time leads us to inquire how far these insurrectionary movements were naturally and necessarily the outcome of the teaching of Wyclif.

We have not far to go in search of evidence, for the story of a leading mover in the outbreak has been chronicled by two independent authors, both of whom are entitled to the highest credit. They tell us that a certain priest of the name

¹⁵ Further details respecting this bloody outbreak are given in a paper which appeared in *THE MONTH*, vol. xlv. p. 213 (February, 1882.), entitled, "The English Lollards, what they taught and what they did."

of John Ball (or Balle) had adopted these heretical opinions, which he had preached for more than twenty years, whenever and wherever the opportunity presented itself. He made himself popular by advocating revolutionary doctrines, such as affected not only the State but the Church also. He told the people that no one need pay tithes to his curate or rector, if that curate or rector happened to be richer than the man by whom the payment was to be made: leaving every one to settle the point for himself. No tithes or offerings were due by an individual whose life was better than that of his curate, the question of the relative excellency of the two being left to the decision of the individual by whom the payment was due. As it was found that he had promulgated these and certain other Wyclifite doctrines he was suspended by the Archbishop; and remaining stubborn in his heresy he was excommunicated and cast into prison. While he was still in custody the insurrection broke out, and the men of Kent, in their march up to London, bethinking themselves of their favourite apostle, freed him from custody by violence, and appointed him one of their counsel. He accepted the post and preached to them on Blackheath, where he took for his text the favourite proverbial couplet:

Whan Adam dalf, and Eve span,
Wo was thanne a gentilman?

Wasingham has preserved an outline of his sermon. He began by an attack upon distinction of ranks. All men, said he, were equal at the beginning, having been so created by God, and at that time there were no masters and no servants. That there should be such now is against the will of God. He entreated his hearers to be brave and resolute, and to act as the farmer does in the cultivation of his field. Just as the farmer cuts down and roots up noxious weeds, so should they deal with the men of the present day. They should kill the chief nobility, and the Archbishop of Canterbury; they should deal out the same measure to the lawyers, justices, and the jurors; and in the last place they should thrust out of the way every one whose life was injurious to the public good. Then, and not till then, would there be peace and security in the land; for there would be equal liberty, equal nobility, equal rank, and equal power.

These doctrines made Ball very popular with the mob, who, by acclamation, appointed their favourite at once Archbishop

of Canterbury and Lord High Chancellor of England. To clear the path for this rapid promotion they voted that Simon Sudbury, the present Archbishop, was a traitor to the Commons and the kingdom, and as such ought to be beheaded—a sentence which they were not long in putting into execution.¹⁶

When the insurrection was quelled, Ball (who had been recaptured in the meantime) was brought up for trial at St. Alban's before Robert Tressilian, Chief Justice of England. The evidence against him was so conclusive that he was speedily condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. At the approach of death the boastful spirit of the insurgent abandoned him, and he had the grace to ask for an interview with the Bishop of London. He made a public confession, which seems to have been reduced to writing and attested by a notary.¹⁷ It was to the effect that for two years he had been Wyclif's disciple, from whom he had learnt the heresies which he had promulgated. He stated that there existed a certain organized band of Wyclifites, who had agreed to perambulate the whole of England with the design of preaching everywhere their master's doctrines at one and the same time, so that every corner of the realm might speedily and surely be brought under the influence of these emissaries. His belief was that, unless active measures were adopted to prevent it, the mischief would be done within the space of two years. The entire plan was under the management of Wyclif, who was aided by Nicolas Hereford, John Aston, and Laurence Bedenam, all of whom were Masters of Arts.¹⁸

Ball was drawn, hanged, and beheaded at St. Alban's on July 15, 1381, in the presence of the young King Richard the Second, and his quarters were sent to four of the chief towns of the kingdom.

In the face of such evidence as this it is not easy to defend Wyclif from the charge of having been in his day a preacher of sedition. I do not accuse him of any actual participation in the terrible scenes which were at this time enacted in London and the neighbourhood. While they were being perpetrated our hero was placidly enjoying the safety afforded him by his comfortable rectory in Leicestershire, there penning the tractates which furnished men bolder than himself with arguments for insurrection, pillage, and murder, which they were not slow in

¹⁶ See Walsingham, ii. 32.

¹⁷ *Fasc. Zizan.* pp. 273, 274.

¹⁸ For the evidence on this point see *Fasc. Zizan.* p. 274.

reducing to practice. My contention is that the theorist who excogitates principles which naturally lead to crime is morally and legally answerable for that crime when it is committed. It is vain to tell us that Walden's account of the transaction was drawn up forty years after the transaction itself. Walden's narrative is founded upon official documents, besides which the Editor of the *Fasciculus Zizaniorum* adduces arguments and proofs to show that in all probability "the basis of the collection was a fragment of a history of the Lollards written by an earlier hand," who seems to have been at work in 1382, when Ball made his confession and was executed.¹⁰

From this period onwards the life of Wyclif was one of seclusion, seldom interrupted by any incident which brought him before the observation of the public. But he was not idle; on the contrary, the numerous writings of which he was the author during this period, show his unwearied energy and unimpaired activity. They are all animated by the same spirit of bitter hostility towards the Holy See, the Prelacy, and the Church and her teaching. Some of the most caustic of his numerous sermons are to be attributed to this period, and the growing violence of his language becomes more and more perceptible. The Papal schism, which unfortunately took place at this time, gave him but too favourable a subject for the display of his eloquence. The Pope and all connected with him are spoken of with a spirit of malignity which labours to find terms sufficiently expressive of its depth and intensity.

It must have been during this period of his life that Wyclif busied himself in preparing that version of the Holy Scriptures which passes under his name, and on which his reputation among us is chiefly founded. Had he been contented with writing dreary books in Latin, such as his masterpiece the *Dialogus*, or intemperate sermons, such as those by which he sought to ruin the faith of his unhappy parishioners at Lutterworth and elsewhere, his name would soon have fallen into merited obscurity. But more mischief yet remained to be done, and he set himself to do it. His theory was that every man is a priest; and what is a priest without a Bible? And if the

¹⁰ We may put aside the document printed by Foxe (iii. 49), the claims of which to be considered as a letter have been conclusively disposed of by Lechler (ii. 284). Even less worthy of credit is the legend that Wyclif was banished from England and found a refuge in Bohemia, where his opinions had already made considerable progress.

Lollard preacher could not read the Bible in the Latin, it was fitting that he should be provided with it in English. Protestant England tells us that it is for this gift above all else that she holds the name of Wyclif in veneration, and we believe her. But upon this subject a few remarks become necessary.

The Catholic Church is said to be an enemy to the diffusion of the knowledge of Divine Truth, and especially to the general circulation of the written Word of God in the language of the people. This is a mistake, or rather it is a misstatement. Our objection is not to the Bible, but to falsified versions of the Bible, versions prepared for the purpose of perverting the truth and teaching falsehood. In doing this the Catholic and the Protestant act alike. The Church of England objects to circulate the Douay version;—why should she wonder if we, on our side, object to the use of "The Holy Bible translated by his Majesty's special command, and appointed to be read in churches" by the same supreme authority?

We assert, then, that from a very early period of our history the people of England were familiar with the leading facts and doctrines of the Sacred History. The story of the Saxon Caedmon, so admirably told by the Venerable Bede,²⁰ is known to everyone. This Yorkshire cowherd composed a poem which embraced an outline of the Old and New Testaments. He sang of the creation of the world and of our first parents, and told the subsequent history of the children of Israel, as recorded in Holy Writ. Then followed the narrative of our Lord's Incarnation, His Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the teaching of the Apostles. He described the terrors of the Last Judgment, the horrors of Hell, and the joys of the heavenly Kingdom, in language so forcible that men were weaned from their evil ways and led into the paths of holiness. Fragments of this remarkable poem are still extant, and have been more than once published.

At the time of his death the Venerable Bede was employed in translating into the Saxon language the Gospel of St. John. King Alfred's biographer, Asser, assures us that if the more necessary parts of Holy Writ were not made accessible to his subjects in their own tongue, it was only because the King had no opportunity of carrying out his wishes on this point. Long before his time the entire Book of Psalms and the four

²⁰ *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 24. Caedmon seems to have lived about the year 680.

Gospels had been translated into Saxon.²¹ We are spared the necessity of further research into the history of the vernacular Scriptures among our Saxon forefathers by quoting the following passage from the Preface of the Rev. J. Forshall²² to the Wyclifite translation of the Bible: "The writings which are still extant show that the Anglo-Saxon Church must have had in its own tongue a considerable amount of Scriptural instruction."

The same observation holds good as to the period after the Norman conquest. Before the end of the thirteenth century an important step had been taken by turning into verse the whole of the Psalter. The translation is a tolerably close rendering of the Latin, and has the additional merit of being simple and expressive. During the reign of the first three Edwards there appeared a great variety of poetical compositions upon sacred subjects containing large extracts from the Scriptures. Long before Wyclif's translation, writes Archbishop Ussher, there existed an English version of the entire Bible, an assertion in which he is supported by Dr. James, keeper of the Bodleian and Cottonian Libraries, and a devoted admirer of Wyclif.²³

These facts, with many others which might be quoted, may suffice to show that translations of various portions of the Old and New Testaments had been familiar to Englishmen long before the days of John Wyclif, and that he cannot be considered as the originator of this grand idea. Nor is his share very considerable, even in the work which his admirers of the present day are anxious to assign to him as his exclusive property. If any portion of the undertaking belongs to him, it is the version of the New Testament, and even on this point his Oxford editors, Forshall and Madden, speak with considerable reserve. "This translation," write they, and their remark applies only to the New Testament, "might probably be the work of Wyclif himself." Possibly he had no

²¹ See the Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter, now first printed from MSS. in the British Museum. London, 1844. 8vo. 2 vols. Surtees Society.

²² Four volumes, 4to, Oxford, 1850. A work to which I express my grateful obligations. The Preface is a model of patient research and judicious criticism.

²³ See Ussher's treatise, *De Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis*, p. 155. London, 1690. Dr. James was the author of the well-known "*Apology for John Wickliffe*, showing his conformity with the new Church of England. To which are added two tracts of John Wickliffe." Oxon, 1608, 4to. It is just, however, to add that the accuracy of this statement of James and Archbishop Ussher has been questioned, among others by the editors of Wyclif's Bible.

share in the translation of the New Testament; certainly he had nothing to do with the version of the Old Testament. Probably while the New Testament was in progress, or within a short time of its completion, the Old Testament was taken in hand by one of his coadjutors. That this was the case is proved by a note written at the end of one of the Bodleian MSS.,²⁴ which ascribes the version to Nicolas de Hereford, and Wyclif's recent editors (though naturally anxious to preserve his reputation where possible) tell us that they "have no hesitation in giving full credence to its statement." It comprises all the Apocryphal Books, so called, excepting the fourth Book of Esdras. Hereford's version was extremely literal, occasionally obscure, and sometimes incorrect, and a revision was considered necessary. This, however, cannot be ascribed to Wyclif, for it was not issued until some time after his death.

These details, interesting in themselves, have led us to two important inferences. We see, in the first place, that the idea of a translation of the Bible into English did not originate with Wyclif; and that in trying to carry it out he was merely continuing an idea long familiar to his countrymen. We see, in the second place, that little of the practical work of the undertaking can be ascribed to him with any certainty. Perhaps the version of the New Testament may be his, perhaps not; certainly no more. So, then, neither the design nor the execution were his. It was not a congenial occupation. The duties of a translator were too humble, and too clearly defined to suit the more aspiring genius of our Reformer. It afforded him no scope for the exercise of the spirit of railing and invective in which his soul delighted. Abandoning the work of translation to others, he found more congenial occupation in writing a ponderous work which he called his *Summa*, in rivalry to that of St. Thomas of Aquin, and death surprised him while so occupied. He preferred his own wild speculations to the less exciting duties of the translator. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into English did not hold the primary place in the estimation of John Wyclif.

Dominated by this spirit of hostility to the Church, of which he still claimed the protection and enjoyed the revenues, Wyclif spent undisturbed the last years of his dishonoured existence. A paralytic seizure which occurred about two years before his death ought to have been an eloquent warning of what was so

²⁴ Preface, p. xvi.

speedily to follow. The Divine patience was exhausted, and the blow which now followed was decisive. Neither the date nor the circumstances of Wyclif's death admit of doubt. Thomas Gascoigne, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1442, and the two following years,²⁵ gives us the particulars of this event with a precision which admits of no question. He tells us that Wyclif died on the festival of St. Sylvester, being the Vigil of our Lord's Circumcision, A.D. 1384. The attack which terminated thus fatally had its beginning on the day of the Holy Innocents (December 28), while he was hearing Mass in his parish church of Lutterworth. His tongue was especially affected by the attack, and he never recovered his power of speech. It is a circumstance which is recorded as being worthy of remembrance that he was stricken down at the time of the Elevation of the Host. This statement is confirmed, as far as the day of Wyclif's death is concerned, by an entry in the Register of the Bishop of Lincoln; and the other particulars given above rest upon the evidence of John Horn, who was assistant priest at Lutterworth at the time of Wyclif's death. He recounted them to Gascoigne, by whom they were written down on a paper whence they were printed by Lewis.

Thus ends the life of the great heresiarch. He left behind him an inheritance of evil to the nation which has had the misfortune to reckon him among her children. She professes to be proud of him, and would have us believe that for his own sake, as well as for the work which he did, she holds his name in honour. To me this seems to be more than questionable. If the name of John Wyclif has been forced of late into prominence, it is less out of regard to the individual himself than to the doctrines and opinions of which he is falsely presumed to be the representative. It lends something of a colour of antiquity to the modern imposture which passes by the name of the Church of England, but which is really the Church of Calvin, Martyr, and Bucer. England never accepted as a whole the doctrines which Wyclif taught; and profoundly Protestant as she is at the present moment, she would not accept them now if she could have them for the asking. But they are useful in so far as they tend to widen the breach between England and Rome, and to keep alive the feeling of hostility which has too long existed between men who ought to be brethren. We would remind our countrymen that the present warfare comes not from

²⁵ Lewis, n. 25, p. 336, from MS. Cott. Ortho. A. xiv.

us, nor have we provoked it. Our wish is to live at peace with all men. But if the strife be forced upon us, and we are thus openly attacked, we claim the privilege of acting upon the defensive. And we are not ashamed to stand forward in defence of the truth as our ancestors knew it, and with them to recognize it as the faith once delivered to the saints, and which, despite all that can be done to crush it, shall continue to exist until the end of the world.

JOSEPH STEVENSON.

Father Curci and the Roman Congregations.

EVERY loyal Catholic throughout the Christian world will have rejoiced at the announcement of Father Curci's unequivocal submission to the authority of the Holy See. He has proved that in spite of his aberrations on matters political and disciplinary, he has not lost the light of faith. If a cloud seemed long to obscure his intellect and lead him astray from the path of obedience, yet it was not a cloud so dense as to prevent him from loyally recognizing in the voice of the occupant of Peter's See the supreme authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. He has now proved undeniably his sincerity when he said that if ever he recognized the maternal authority of the Church as being at stake, he would not hesitate at once to submit his will and obey. Through the mouth of Leo the Church has at length spoken to him with a voice in which he could not fail to acknowledge the exercise of his Mother's right to command, and prompt obedience has been the happy result.

Father Curci's submission is the more remarkable, by reason of a letter signed with his name which appeared in the *London Times* only a few days previously. In it he appeals to the English public against the attacks and misrepresentations of the Catholic papers of England and English-speaking countries, as well as of his opponents in Italy itself. The Catholic papers of England are so few in number that the misrepresentations of which he speaks could scarcely have escaped our notice. We can certainly answer for it that in the most conspicuous among them nothing of the sort has appeared. In other English-speaking countries there may have been a certain amount of misrepresentation in Catholic journals, but we do not believe it. We suspect that this charge is an instance of that inaccuracy and carelessness of thought which we shall have occasion to notice as characterizing the defence of his conduct contained in the same letter, but which now we may presume that he has happily abandoned. This inexactness of mind is perhaps his best excuse for the many foolish and

disloyal things that he has written about the Holy Father and all things Papal during the last ten years.

It would indeed have been a sad thing if Father Curci had not by his subsequent submission cancelled a letter in which, while professing to remain a faithful member of the Church, he seems to court the friendship and crave after the sympathy of the Church's enemies. The *Saturday Review*¹ calls it a "piteous" appeal, and piteous it certainly was, though perhaps in rather a different sense from that in which it was used by our anti-Papal contemporary. It was a piteous thing to witness the sad spectacle of an old man, who, for the greater part of his long life, had been not only a loyal son of the Church, but a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, appealing, at a time when the shadows were gathering round the evening of his days, to the Protestant press of an heretical country for sympathy and support. Perhaps it was pitiable rather than piteous. He had indeed a claim on our pity by reason of his own unhappy condition of mind, and his culpable refusal to obey, but he had no claim on our pity, much less on our sympathy, in the rebellious attitude of wilful independence which now, through God's mercy, he has happily abandoned.

It is our object in the present paper to show how illogical and untenable this position was. We can do so the more readily, in that the good Father is now on our side, and our opponent is not Father Curci, but (if we have an opponent) the writer in the *Saturday Review*, who writes, as it seems to us, rather with the malice of the disloyal Catholic than with the customary prejudice of the ill-informed Protestant.

At the same time we shall take the opportunity of explaining to our readers what sort of obedience is required of the loyal Catholic to Roman Congregations. There is often a great deal of loose talking and loose thinking about the so-called voice of the Church, and men are prone to confound together the different degrees of obedience due to the various utterances which are included under this common name. The letter signed with Father Curci's name was calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the careless reader in this respect, and, we hope quite undesignedly, to leave an impression which we cannot but characterize as a false one.

The teaching of theologians respecting the obedience due to the decrees of the various Roman Congregations is a

¹ *Saturday Review*, September 13, 1884.

matter of the highest importance and interest to the student of Catholic theology and to the faithful generally. These Congregations were instituted with the view of relieving the Holy Father of some portion of the enormous weight of business which presses on him day by day, and of assisting him with suitable aid and counsel.² They are in fact a number of committees concerned with the regulation of the affairs of the Universal Church, and they advise the Pope on matters of doctrine and discipline and ritual, on the government of Regulars and Seculars, on the appointment of members of the Hierarchy, on questions relating to Indulgences, relics, censures, on the validity of disputed marriages, on a thousand and one different subjects arising out of and connected with ecclesiastical law. We are at present concerned with two only out of those various Congregations, the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index. The former of these was established by Paul the Third in 1542, to check the poison of the Lutheran heresy. It is a criminal court, and it is concerned with all causes and matters relating to heresy, schism, apostasy, witchcraft, and the abuse of the sacraments.³ It judges as a supreme court on all strictly religious questions, and has to examine into and punish offences against faith. It takes cognizance of appeals to the Holy See on such matters. Its chief office is to watch against the spread of false doctrine, whether by means of oral or written teaching. Hence all books suspected of containing unsound or dangerous matter fall under its jurisdiction.⁴ But the examination of such books was found in its early days to involve an amount of labour requiring some subsidiary congregation to share its work. In the year 1557, by direction of Paul the Fourth, a general Catalogue of prohibited books was issued by the Congregation of the Inquisition, and eighteen Fathers were shortly after appointed by the Council of Trent, at the suggestion of the same Pontiff, to revise and complete this Catalogue, which was published all over the world in 1594. To add to it and correct it a permanent Committee soon became necessary. It was altogether beyond the power of the Congregation of the Inquisition to do the work, at a time when the number of printed books issuing from the press was increasing day by

² Plettenberg, *Notitia Cong.* in præf.

³ Plettenberg, *Notitia Cong.* 619, ed. 1693.

⁴ Bouix, *De Curia Romana*, p. 153.

day. To meet this difficulty, St. Pius the Fifth instituted a new Congregation, of which the special and sole function was to examine suspected books, and to issue a list (*indicem*) of those which it found reason to condemn.

From the list which it thus issued it derived its name of the Congregation of the Index. It was not in any sense a criminal court. It merely announced to the faithful in general that such and such books were forbidden and could not be read without sin. The judicial function of dealing with the author of the book rather than with the book itself never passed into its hands. The Congregation of the Index had indeed this relation with the author, that it gave him notice, while the book was under examination and before it was placed upon the roll of condemned works, and he thus had an opportunity of removing from the condemnation by submitting to the judgment of the Sacred Congregation. In this case a note was appended to the book when it appeared on the proscribed list, "The author has sent in his submission"—(*auctor se subjecit*) ; or if he did so with ready compliance and without any pressure, "The author has made his submission in a way deserving of all praise"—(*auctor laudabiliter se subjecit*). But it did not belong to the Congregation of the Index to impose pains and penalties. This was left to the Congregation of the Inquisition, which still retained to itself the function of judging of the contents of books suspected of false or pernicious doctrine, and of passing sentence on the author if the charge were duly established.

It was Benedict the Fourteenth⁵ who laid down in detail the method of proceeding to be adopted by the Inquisition in judging of suspected books. First of all, the book is to be read and carefully weighed by one of the Consultors or advisers of the Sacred Congregation, who sends it with his opinion, and with the chief errors marked in it, to the other Consultors. At the next meeting of the Consultors the book is discussed ; each Consultor states his opinion and gives his vote as to the justice of the charges brought against the book, and the theological vote of censure it deserves, if they are proved against it. The results of the voting, and the opinions of the various Consultors, are then forwarded to each of the Cardinals who compose the Congregation of the Inquisition, and they have to pronounce sentence definitively about the whole matter. The sentence,

⁵ In the Constitution *Sollicita*, §§ 3 seq., July 9, 1753.

however, and the whole proceedings, have still to be submitted to the Holy Father, before the judgment passed finally takes effect. In important cases the mere sanction of the Pope is not enough, and the matter comes before the meeting of the Congregation which takes place on a Thursday, and at which the Pope himself presides. In this case the Pope acts as Prefect of the Congregation, and passes sentence in his own name, after the Cardinals have voted as to the reality of the charge and the punishment to be inflicted.

In the sentence passed, whether by Cardinals under Papal sanction, or by the Pope himself with the Cardinals as his advisers and assessors, there are three constituent parts which need not all be actually and explicitly present, but which must all of them be virtually and implicitly contained in it. To distinguish these is a matter of very great importance in forming an opinion respecting the justice of the proceedings of Roman Congregations in general, and in the special case which is now before us.

1. There is the dogmatic decision respecting the truth or falsity of the opinions expressed in the book, respecting its general tone and spirit, its loyalty or disloyalty, the effects it is likely to produce on the minds of the faithful at large, &c.

2. There is the command issued to the author or to Catholics generally, based on this decision, and enjoining on the author the withdrawal of the book or some similar act of submission to the authority of the Congregation, and on the faithful the duty of neither reading of it themselves, nor of doing anything to promote its circulation.

3. There is the penal sentence passed on the author which may be either absolute, or conditional and dependent on his compliance with the command enjoined upon him.

The dogmatic decree deals with a speculative question, and one in which a fallible man or body of men may err, and to which intellectual assent can be required under pain of heresy only where the prerogative of infallibility is manifestly present to the judge passing sentence. If this is not the case, or if there is any reasonable doubt about it, the author of the book may be firmly convinced that his judges are wrong and he is right as to the opinions expressed in his book, without being necessarily liable to the charge of heresy, or of false and pernicious doctrine. He may be blind, presumptuous, ignorant; his blindness may be the just punishment of pride and disloyalty;

but if in his heart he is convinced that the thesis upheld is in accordance with facts, no one has in this case any right to condemn him as a heretic. But would he be guilty of grave sin? The case is one rather of theory than of fact. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the inability to recognize the falsity of the doctrines condemned arises from pride or obstinacy or some other grave moral fault. The mere fact of a single individual preferring his own opinion to the carefully weighed and authoritative decision of a body of grave and learned theologians, Cardinals of the Roman Church, helped by the learning and prudence of carefully chosen consultors, and acting, not as individuals, but as constituent members of one of the Church's recognized tribunals, would in itself indicate, at least in a large majority of cases, a guilty and overweening pride and presumption; and when that decision receives the sanction of the Holy Father himself, the preference given by a single individual, whatever his ability and knowledge, to his own judgment over the combined voice of Cardinals asserting and Pope approving, could scarcely under any possible circumstances be excused. Still the bare possibility exists. It is quite true that these decrees are, as Father Curci says, not irreformable nor infallible, according to the verdict of all the best theologians of the Church.

But this has reference only to those decrees which are issued in the name of the members of the Sacred Congregation, without any express confirmation or approbation on the part of the Roman Pontiff being mentioned in the decree. The reason why such decrees are not infallible, and may be retracted, is that the Pope cannot delegate his infallibility. He may have been present at the meeting of the Congregation when the decree was passed. He may have given his formal sanction to the issuing of it, but as long as he does not make it his own by any words inserted in it to that effect, it does not come within the province of infallibility. Although in individual cases the probability of its truth amounts to a moral certainty, yet the familiar case of Galileo shows that the Congregation of the Inquisition may pass a decree which is not in accordance with fact. That out of the thousands and tens of thousands of the decrees issued, there are but one or two cases which can be quoted against the Congregation, is sufficient evidence of the authority of its decisions. The exception proves the rule. Men who rely upon these one or two exceptions to

prove that the decrees are not irreformable, and that consequently they are justified in clinging to their own opinion as against the decision of the Congregation, are like speculators who risk their all in a lottery where the chances of failure are a thousand or five thousand to one.

But the Holy Father is not always satisfied with being present at the meetings of the Congregation and sanctioning their proceedings in general. He sometimes goes a step further, and not only sanctions the issuing of the decree, but personally approves and confirms its contents, although it is still issued in the name of the Cardinals composing the Congregation.⁶ By so doing he makes the decrees in some sense his own, or at all events makes himself responsible for their truth. Are the faithful therefore bound to receive them as infallible and irrefragable utterances which they must believe, under pain of heresy, and which do not and cannot depart a single hair's breadth from the perfect truth? Are they bound to accept them with that perfect interior assent and submission which is due to every *ex cathedra* utterance of the Vicar of Christ? This is a question about which the careful theologian hesitates before he answers in the affirmative. There is just the shadow of a doubt whether the Pope, in confirming these decrees, acts as Head of the Congregation or as Head of the Universal Church. If the former is true, there is just the bare possibility of their not being marked with the mark of infallibility. However strong our own conviction of their universal and their irrefragable truth, we have no right to condemn any one who may see in them a want of that fulness of authority which is necessary to stamp them as outside the possibility of error. No case has ever been known in which there has been any ground for doubting their absolute truth, and we may have a moral certainty that no such case will ever occur. To assail any of them would expose the assailant to a grave theological vote of censure. But we do not think that he could be convicted of heresy for doing so, since it is possible that in them the Pope speaks with the *Supreme* authority, but not with the *Infallible* authority committed to him by Jesus Christ. For the exercise of Infallibility it is necessary that he should make it manifest to the

⁶ "Eminentissimi decreverunt, negative ad formam decreti ferie V coram SS. diei 13 Jan. 1655. Eadem die et feria SS. D. N. D. Gregorius div. prov. pp. XVI. in audientia assessori S. Officii impertita resolutionem Eminentissimorum approbavit" (Denz. *Enchiridion*, n. 1495).

faithful that he is speaking as Teacher and Doctor of the Universal Church. Unless this is clear, we cannot with absolute certainty conclude that the utterance is infallible. It may be a grievous sin to doubt its truth; it may be an act of rebellion to say a word against it, but we cannot be infallibly sure that it is infallibly true.

There is still another class of dogmatic decrees, which consists of those which the Holy Father issues in his own name, and to which He imparts the fulness of his authority as Head of the Universal Church. In these he speaks in a way that makes it manifest to all that he not only adopts the decree as his own, but puts it forth as proceeding from Himself as its author in his capacity of Head of the Catholic Church. The Cardinals composing the Congregation are merely his advisers and assessors. In this case he uses language such as follows: "Having heard the opinions of the Cardinals, We, by their advice and also of our own accord, condemn," &c. Among decrees of that nature are that in which Innocent the Tenth condemns the opinion respecting the equality of SS. Peter and Paul,⁷ and in which in recent times Gregory the Sixteenth passed sentence on the philosophy of Hermes.⁸ Here there can be no possible doubt about the binding character of the decrees. In the one case the Pope, as Head of the Universal Church, and speaking on a matter of faith and morals, condemns certain propositions as heretical, and therefore his utterances are infallible, and any one refusing interior assent to them, or doubting of their truth, cuts himself off from the communion of the faithful, and is *ipso facto* a heretic. In the other he uses the fulness of his Apostolic power to condemn and reject certain

⁷ "Sanctissimus, relata unanimi theologorum ad hoc specialiter deputatorum censura, et auditis votis eminentissimorum et reverendissimorum DD. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum, propositionem hanc: S. Petrus et S. Paulus sunt duo Ecclesie principes, qui unicum efficiunt, vel: sunt duo Ecclesie catholice coryphæi ac supremi duces summa inter se unitate conjuncti, vel: sunt geminus universalis Ecclesie vertex, qui in unum divinissime coaluerunt, vel: sunt duo Ecclesie summi pastores ac præsidēs, qui unicum caput constituunt, ita explicatam, ut ponat omnimodam aequalitatem inter S. Petrum et S. Paulum sine subordinatione et subiectione S. Pauli ad S. Petrum in potestate suprema et regimine universalis Ecclesie, hæreticam censuit et declaravit" (Denz. *Enchiridion*, n. 965).

⁸ "Nos itaque auditis præfatorum Cardinalium suffragiis et omnibus plene perpensis, de eorum consilio ac etiam motu proprio, deque Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, prædictos libros, ubicunque et quocunque idiomate, seu quavis editione aut versione hucusque impressos, aut in posterum, quod absit, imprimendos, tenore præsentium damnamus et reprobamus, ac in indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandamus" (Denz. *Enchiridion*, n. 1487).

philosophical works, and he who doubts and denies the justice of the condemnation passed, if he is not actually guilty of formal heresy, is at least guilty of an act deserving grave theological censure.

So far we are quite at one with Father Curci in the letter now practically withdrawn, but we have not yet touched the real point at issue. It was within the bounds of possibility, until the Holy Father himself spoke in his own name, that Father Curci was right and the Congregation wrong in the decree which condemned his writings and the opinions therein expressed. At all events he thought so, and though we may regard him as having been presumptuous and insolent in clinging to his own opinion in opposition to the collective voice of the Cardinals composing the Congregation, we have no right to assert that, with such a conviction in his mind, he was bound in conscience to adopt their opinions instead of his own, or to give interior assent to their decrees.

But this was not the real question. The letter in the *Times* signed with his name, the substance of which is repeated in the *Saturday Review*, would have the reader believe that because Father Curci did not accept as his own opinions which he was not bound to accept and could not accept, he was unjustly punished, contrary to all reason and justice. We will quote the exact words, lest we seem to be among those who "misrepresent" him.

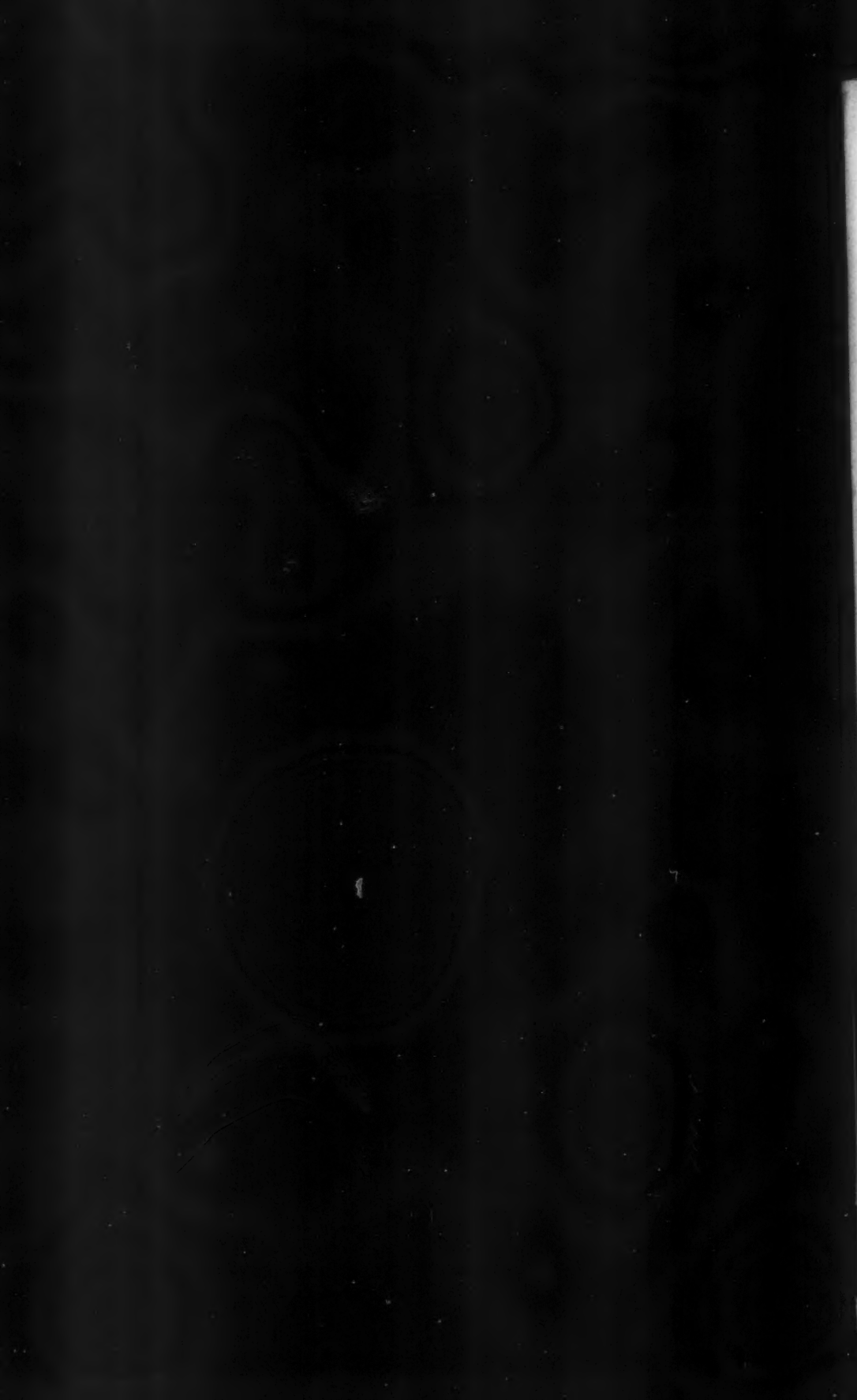
I am a priest, who by disciplinary measures is forbidden to say Mass, but I am not deprived of the participation of the Sacraments, and at all events not expelled from the communion of the faithful. The fact which has caused this disciplinary animadversion is my disobedience to a decree of a Roman Congregation. These decrees, according to the doctrines of the best theologians, are not irreformable, and the ecclesiastical censures do not bind in conscience or in *foro interno*, when deprived of a good reason. This is the verdict of theologians from St. Gregory the Great down to St. Thomas and St. Alphonsus de Liguori.

I am therefore neither that heretic which the Clericals dream, nor that *transfuga* which according to Protestant opinions has already left, or is quite near to leave Rome. I am a dutiful son of the Church, who hesitates to obey an order of this mother because he does not see clear enough the maternal authority in it. I am yet so disposed in my heart that, should any one persuade me that maternal authority is at stake, I would not hesitate for a single minute to surrender my will and obey.

Now this passage is distinctly misleading. It confuses

together the decree which condemns speculative opinions and the decree which gives a positive and practical command. It would have us infer that because the speculative decree might according to the opinion of the best theologians be mistaken, therefore the practical decree might be disobeyed even by a dutiful son of the Church. The inference is an wholly unjustifiable one. The theologians say that the bare possibility of error in a decree frees the individual Catholic from the absolute obligation of interior assent. But this is a very different thing from saying that it frees him from the obligation of obedience when the Congregation orders this or that. If such disregard of positive commands were justifiable, there would be no such thing as obedience to a superior. It does not need any knowledge of theology to see that interior disagreement from speculative opinions is a very different thing from a refusal to obey a practical command. Dissension from the grounds on which an order is given by a lawful superior does not absolve the subject from obedience to the order, so long as there is nothing sinful in it. Suppose that a subordinate officer on the field of battle were to refuse to obey the general's order because he disagreed with the system of tactics pursued, would he not be justly tried by court-martial and shot for his disobedience? Would it avail him to quote the best authorities on military tactics to show that the general was wrong? The obvious answer would be, "Wrong or right, you were bound to obey. It is not a question of what you were bound to *think*, but what you were bound to *do*. You are going to suffer, not for disagreement with the opinions of a fallible man, but for deliberate disobedience to the commands of your lawful superior." In the same way Father Curci was condemned, not because he internally dissented from the decree of the Congregation, but because, and that on his own showing, he openly refused to obey it.

The letter moreover attempts to throw dust into our eyes by telling us that ecclesiastical censures do not bind in conscience or in *foro interno* when deprived of a good reason, leaving us to infer from this that he was quite at liberty to disregard the censure if he chose to evade the penalty of suspension which it involved. But was the censure deprived of a good reason, even on his own showing? It was not imposed because he used the liberty conceded to him by theologians of refusing to regard the decision of the Congregation as binding on his assent; if this were so, he would have good reason to complain; but it was



with love & thanks

Father Curci and the Roman Congregations. 181

imposed because he refused to obey the positive order of the Congregation. He would have us think that the Congregation sought to force his conscience, and because he upheld the liberty of conscience conceded by all the best theologians, therefore he was condemned. The Congregation never interfered with the liberty of his conscience at all. It simply said, Here is our order, you may keep your opinions, but you must hold your tongue about them. Father Curci answered, No, I will not. I believe I am right and you are wrong, and so I am not going to obey you!

We have spoken above of three different kinds of decrees issuing from Roman Congregations—the dogmatic decree, which pronounces on the truth or falsity of opinions submitted to it; the directive or regulative decree, ordering this or that to be done; and the disciplinary decree, inflicting punishment for disobedience. Our readers will now see that the fallacy of Father Curci's argument lay in this, that he imagined that because the dogmatic decree did not, in the opinion of the best theologians, necessarily bind in conscience or in *foro interno*, therefore the command contained in the regulative decree might be disregarded, and the censure imposed in punishment for disobedience be set at nought. This confusion of thought is his best excuse for the false position he has so long occupied. Now that he has generously confessed his error, and abandoned his untenable line of defence, he will be the first to perceive where his mistake lay.

It is the voice of Peter ringing out clear and distinct, so that none can fail to recognize its authority, or find a subterfuge for rejecting its teaching, that has brought Father Curci to his senses. We see in the letter of Leo the Thirteenth, which confirms and makes his own all that the Congregation have decreed respecting Father Curci and his books, a magnificent instance of the ever living power of the Church striking down error with wise decisiveness and well timed severity. We see in the submission of the culprit a most edifying example of the instinctive loyalty of the Catholic prevailing, through the grace of God, over a long continued habit of wrongheaded criticism and the mistaken desire for a false liberty.

The Story of my Life.

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE LAST FIFTY YEARS IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

IT has been well said that the story of almost any man's life is worth reading, if only it is faithfully told. History is but the aggregate of the lives of individual men and women, and its value mainly depends upon the completeness with which it enables us to realize their struggles and sufferings, their hopes and joys and sorrows. I have lately published some recollections of my own, illustrating the rise and progress of the great religious movement of the last fifty years, confining myself to the outward aspects of my personal history. I now propose to make those recollections complete, by relating those inner aspects of my story, without which the narrative is no real autobiographical record of the growth of an individual human nature. I have something to tell which may be of use to others of my generation, both in the way of guidance and warning. And with this end in view I venture to take them into my confidence, trusting to their friendly sympathy in return for my frankness and unreserve. Englishmen are often blamed for the cautiousness and pride with which they shut themselves up in the innermost recesses of their own thoughts. Often they are not deserving of the censure, for there are perhaps no people in the world so shy and shame-faced as Englishmen, and shyness is often mistaken for pride, and an excess of sensitiveness for jealous hauteur. At any rate, the experience of a long life has led me to the conclusion that habitual reserve is generally a mistake and does no good to any living being. With this conviction I appeal to my readers' sympathetic judgment upon what I am about to write. And I count upon that sympathetic judgment with all the more confidence, because I believe that there

are thousands of persons who like myself have been affected by the various currents of thought which have long been flowing with so much energy amongst us, but who have kept silence while I am venturing to speak.

It is difficult for those who are still young or middle-aged to realize the actual condition of English society during the Regency and the reign of George the Fourth, and to understand the exact character of the obstacles which stood in the way of the religious movements of fifty years ago. Only those who, like myself, are drawing near the end of their earthly life, can comprehend the greatness of that astonishing change whose full results it is impossible to foresee, but whose present fruits seem to point to some coming renewal of the faith and the practices of apostolic and post-apostolic times.

Setting aside the trivial events of childhood, my earliest recollections are connected with the old Church of St. Mary, Newington, long ago pulled down. It was a fair specimen of the ecclesiastical architecture of the eighteenth century, and was destitute alike of beauty and of symbolical meaning. Nevertheless, its wooden portico, its painted galleries, and organ-loft decorated with the royal arms, bright with obtrusive gilding, were suggestive in my boyish eyes of ideas of Christian belief and reverence. So, also, with its services. They were such as were universally in favour with the old-fashioned clergy, who were unaffected by the advancing Low Church or evangelical principles. The nickname of "High and Dry" has since been invented for them. Dry, indeed, were the services which satisfied these old-fashioned clergy. If they had any special characteristic, it was their exclusive use of Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms, with the addition of Bishop Ken's morning and evening hymns—the hymns for Christmas and Easter which were printed at the end of the Book of Common Prayer. A strange testimony was also frequently borne to the function of music, as an instrument of devotional thought. It was a common practice for the congregation to sit quietly down at a certain point in the morning prayers while the organist played a solo upon the organ at his own discretion. This was called the voluntary. It was probably a survival of the Catholic Offertory, sung at Mass in the old days before the Reformation.

Music, in fact, has been, apart from the direct teaching of hymns embodying the great truths of Christianity, the most powerful of all instruments for breaking down the barrier which

separated English Protestantism from the Catholic Church. It cannot be doubted that a familiarity with the musical compositions in use in the Catholic Church, softens the bitterness of anti-Roman feeling, and predisposes people to believe that the faith which can thus express itself in harmonies of exquisite beauty, cannot be that hideous union of formalism and superstition which popular prejudice associates with the very name of Rome. It is doubtful, indeed, whether Dissenters would have tolerated the use of two hymn tunes which had found their way into their books, with the titles *Tantum Ergo* and *Alma*, had they known that these titles were not connected with some mysterious musical origin, and that *Alma* was the first word of Webbe's setting of the *Alma Redemptoris Mater*. Webbe, the greatest of English glee writers, was a Catholic, and his Masses and motetts were well known to the humble choirs of the little Catholic churches (then timidly called chapels), in different parts of the country.

A marked musical influence upon old prejudices was exercised by the publication of the collection termed *German and Italian Sacred Music*, by Mr. C. J. Latrobe, a minister of the Moravian community living in England, and a man of refinement and good musical and general education. This collection gave the original Latin words of the pieces which it contained, many of which were of great beauty. No complete Masses were given, for in those days "selections" were all in vogue. But these selections were made from the purely musical point of view, and nothing was done to adapt their words to Protestant sensibilities. The publication had considerable success, and found its way into many families, familiarizing them with Catholic phrases and ideas, associated with agreeable emotions, all tending to create sympathy in place of the old ignorant aversion.

If, however, an acquaintance with Catholic music has gone far to enlist the feelings of Protestant families in favour of the Catholic Church herself, what is not to be said of the effect of the singing of Catholic hymns which has now become common wherever the English tongue is spoken? For myself, when I look back upon the services which were general in the churches of the Establishment in my young days, I cannot but recognize in the popularity of collections like *Hymns Ancient and Modern* an instrument for the conversion of all English-speaking races, whose power it is not easy to exaggerate. If there are any two

doctrines which are distinctly taught in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, these are the Divinity of our Lord and His Real Presence upon the altar. In connection with these two fundamental doctrines of Catholicism, there runs through this little book a recognition of the claims of the Immaculate Mother of Jesus, and of the essential unity of the whole Christian Church, including all those Christians who have passed into the unseen world. While congregations sing these hymns, preachers may say what they please from the pulpit. The hearts of their people are led to cling more and more closely to the Eternal Son incarnate for man, and present in the Adorable Mystery of the Blessed Sacrament. As the days go on, all the arguments in the world will not persuade minds once imbued with these great truths that they are to be found realized in any conceivable form of Protestantism.

And it was after these doctrines, or rather this one doctrine, that Jesus is God and Mary is still His Mother, and that from His Sacramental Presence there constantly flows out upon the soul, as from a fountain, the fruit of His Redemption—it was, I say, after these truths that our fathers were feeling with trembling hands, when the great religious movement began some fifty years ago.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOL-DAYS.

IT is difficult for those who know Anglicanism only by the religious services which are now general, to understand what they were when George the Third was King; it is almost as difficult for those who only know our public schools as they now are to understand what they were when I went to school at Westminster. Few people would believe me if I told them what were the morals, the manners, and the ordinary talk of most of the boys, whether those who were in College, that is, on the foundation, forty in number, or the town boys, as the others were called, whether they lived at home, or in one of the boarding-houses in Great and Little Dean's Yards. It was held in general English society that men must begin to "sow their wild oats" while still boys, and that the birch-rod was the instrument ordained by nature for the punishment of all offences. Consequently, such writers as Horace were placed in the hands of boys unpurged from their occasional grossness, and the

comedies of Terence were acted at Westminster just as Terence wrote them for the ears of a Pagan Roman audience. As for mere discipline in the schools, it was only nominal, while in the way of religious instruction, we learnt once a week a page or two of Grotius' once famous treatise, *De Veritate Religionis Christiane*, and those boys who had no friends in London whom they could visit, attended the ordinary services at the Abbey on Sundays.

For myself, as I went home every Sunday, I do not think that the injurious influences of the school had much effect upon me, little as it did for me in the way of general education.

CHAPTER III.

OXFORD.

WHEN I went up to Oxford to reside at Balliol, the University was deeply stirred by the early influence of the *Tracts for the Times*. The publication of Keble's *Christian Year*, the success of which was immediate, had prepared people's minds to receive some sort of devout spiritual teaching in connection with the ecclesiastical routine of the Book of Common Prayer. At length the first notes of the trumpet were sounded, and the first Tracts were issued, bearing for their motto the text, "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

With no uncertain sound the writers, most of whom were Fellows of Oriel, taught the doctrines of the new school. They asserted that the Established Church was not a mere Establishment, but that in its essence it was a branch of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ, by virtue of the succession of its bishops from the Apostles, and that it was the duty of its members to live as far as possible in harmony with the practical system of the early Christian Fathers.

Those Dissenting communities who, like the Scotch Kirk, did not possess a ministry deriving its vitality through an Apostolical succession of bishops, were necessarily regarded as heretical and schismatical societies, and their sacraments were rejected as not being sacraments at all.

Outside Oxford an idea prevailed in those sections of society which took an interest in theological matters, that the religious force of the new movement lay in this controversial element, and

considering the subjects treated in the *Tracts for the Times*, it is not surprising that this notion should have been as common as it was.

When I went up to Oxford I was in no way under the influence of the new school. I held moderate Evangelical opinions. I had no fondness for the ways of Dissenters, but I thought it monstrous to deny them the title of Christians. Besides this, I had a great love for music as an instrument of devotion, in its more elaborate forms as well as in simple chants and hymns. Above all, I was a firm believer in the Thomist doctrine of the immanence of God in all nature. To the last, both as an undergraduate and when I left Oxford, I was unconvinced by the controversial reasonings of the early Tracts, and was thus a dispassionate observer of the real elements of vitality in the movement. At this distant period I still think that the estimates which I then formed were correct, and may be accepted by the future historian as the true explanation of the rise and progress of the new Reformation in England.

The real life of this new Reformation was, in a great measure, the result of Mr. Newman's sermons, which he preached on Sunday afternoons, as vicar of the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, after the University sermons, preached in the same church, were concluded. No one who heard these sermons can ever forget them, or the subdued intensity of the convictions which showed itself in every tone of Mr. Newman's voice as he addressed the crowd of University men, Masters of Arts, Bachelors, and Undergraduates, who flocked to hear him. "What we see," he seemed to be always thinking, "is only an empty show, if regarded as the habitation and the home of immortal creatures." This is the thought which runs through so many of the short poems which from time to time he published:

The storm, the flame, the quaking ground,
Earth's joy, earth's terror, nought is thine;
Thou must but hear the sound
Of the still voice divine.

Penetrated with this conviction, Mr. Newman presented to his hearers the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ with a vividness and force which, to most of them, seemed like a revelation from Heaven, and which was practically almost new in the teaching of the English clergy. In connection with this fundamental truth, he taught the doctrine of the Real Presence in the

Eucharist, of course without the fulness and exactness of the Catholic Church, but yet in such a manner as to move men's hearts with strange sensations. So, too, in his efforts to comprehend and explain all that is involved in the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Those who heard him caught the intensity of his own thoughts, and began to feel that the Church of God is one, and that the living and the dead can never be disunited.

This, then, was the true source of the vitality of that movement which gradually began to stir hearts in Oxford, and wherever the famous *Tracts for the Times* were welcomed. In these sermons, moreover, the preacher took his parishioners and friends into his confidence, and described (to a great extent unconsciously) the stages by which his own inner life grew and expanded in the warm light of Catholic doctrine, irradiating his mind while he was still engaged in the hopeless task of defending the position of the Anglican Church as a living branch of the one Church of Jesus Christ.

Akin to this influence was that of Dr. Pusey's Tract on Baptism, and of his occasional sermons in the University pulpit. It was this Tract which first opened the eyes of people in general to the terrible reality of that doctrine of the spiritual nature of the Christian Church which was assumed in the Tracts generally, and set forth in their defence of what came to be known as the Anglo-Catholic theory. The accumulation of Scripture texts which Dr. Pusey produced in defence of the view which he expounded startled alike the Evangelicals and the old-fashioned High Churchmen who had been content to teach Baptismal Regeneration according to the exposition of the Church Catechism and the "moderate" notions of the divines of the eighteenth century. Can it be possible, people asked, that these Oxford doctrines involve questions of life and death to immortal souls, and are not mere weapons put into the hands of Churchmen for fighting the Dissenters? If Dr. Pusey's Scriptural views of Holy Baptism were really Scriptural, one thing was clear. Absolution was a necessity, and with it the practice of real Confession to a real priest. By degrees these conclusions were arrived at in many quarters, both in Oxford and elsewhere. Not women only, but men of mature understanding, called upon Dr. Pusey himself to act as their confessor and spiritual director, and to give them the absolution which they sought. Dr. Pusey consented; and from that moment the movement towards

Rome practically began. Speculations became convictions. Doubts as to the validity of Anglican Orders which until now had been quietly set aside, came to be regarded as calling for searching investigation. Supposing there is any latent flaw in the Apostolical Succession of the Anglican Bishops, was it not safer for a soul burdened with grievous sin to seek absolution from a priest, about whose right to absolve there could be no possible question, corrupt as might be the Church to which he belonged in matters of less vital moment?

And thus the ties of affection and veneration which had hitherto attached so many devout hearts to the Established Church were one by one loosened and then broken, and the first steps were taken in the course which in 1845 led Mr. Newman himself and so many others into the bosom of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER IV.

ROME.

AFTER taking my degree, I was ordained, and became the curate of the Rev. E. W. Estcourt, at Newnton, in North Wiltshire. His memory has ever been dear to me, as that of a man of unusual simplicity and sincerity of character and of unaffected piety and seriousness. My connection with him tended to deepen my sense of religious obligation, though my opinions were slowly changing in a direction which he disapproved. I was unaffected by the arguments of the Tracts in defence of the exclusive claim of the Anglican Church, and was still what may be called a moderate Evangelical. But I continued to read Mr. Newman's volumes of sermons with ever increasing interest, together with his articles in the *British Critic* and the sketches of Patristic life which he reprinted from the *British Magazine* in a small volume with the title, *The Church of the Fathers*.

In those days High Churchmen were greatly troubled in their minds by the question of pew rents, as against free and open sittings in churches, and my first practical adherence to the Oxford movement was in this matter. I built a church at Bridgwater (St. John's, Eastover), in which pew rents were to be unknown, and where I imagined that a great effect upon the

religion of the district would be the immediate result. While the church was building, my health having given way, I went abroad for a year, travelling through Germany and Switzerland to Florence and Rome.

It was in Rome itself that I first realized, in some degree, the essential unity of the Christian Church as a visible organization. Those who remember what Rome was in 1843, will understand me when I say that the general aspect of the city was one of ruin and decay, I do not mean in its material and architectural elements, so much as in the impression of the powerlessness and want of intelligence of the ruling authorities. Paganism was gone; but what was the power which had succeeded to Paganism? Old Rome had conquered the world, and the very dust of the city seemed a heap of fragments which told how mighty its power had been, and what a race of men had once worshipped its own gods in these fallen temples; but into what feeble hands had the inheritance of these giants of the world now passed! This was my predominant feeling, as I wandered to and fro among those marvellous ruins and almost silent solitudes.

Yet the religion of the Crucified One still ruled in the midst of these relics of the mighty dead. The sight of Trajan's column especially moved me. Where were the triumphs of victorious emperors now? In vain they had sculptured the story of their conquest, and perpetuated the memory of their sacking of that Jerusalem which had slain Jesus and the prophets. On the summit of this boasting column stood the figure of the Apostle of Jesus, a symbol of the might of that spiritual kingdom which Rome had striven to destroy, and had failed.

But with all this, Rome was to me a city sad and melancholy. No one seemed to have inherited the masterful vigour of the ancient paganism, and the sceptre, as I thought, was in the hands of those who could not wield it, either for the temporal or the spiritual good of mankind.

Impressed with these feelings, I looked forward to the last week of Lent, when I should hear the singing of the Papal choir in the Sistine Chapel, and should witness the great functions in St. Peter's on Easter Day.

Then Holy Week came, and my sense of the extraordinary and spiritual beauty of the music of Palestrina and Allegri was deepened by the symbolical ceremonial with which it was accompanied. At any rate, I thought, this is religious worship,

and an attempt to embody man's faith in the invisible. I had been deeply moved by the Gregorian chanting of the Gospel in St. Peter's on Palm Sunday, for which I was not prepared, though the floor of the church near me was crowded with chattering French and English strangers and sight-seers. But it was not till Easter Day that any real impression was made upon my mind. The vast multitude were gathered together in the piazza in front of St. Peter's, waiting for the appearance of the Pope (Gregory the Sixteenth) in the balcony. At length he appeared. A sudden silence seized the throng before him. He gave his blessing, of which of course I could hear nothing, and in a few minutes all was over.

But the arrow had penetrated my heart. Here, at any rate, I felt, is power and unity. Whatever else the Roman Church may be, she is a reality. The multitude who bow their heads as a feeble old man lifts up his hands and prays to God to bless them, represent the allegiance of millions and millions of Christians in all parts of the world. Clearly, this kingdom is a reality, in a sense that is impossible in any variety of Protestantism. Thus I thought and felt, scarcely putting my convictions into words, and still less understanding the full argumentative force of the beliefs latent in my breast. However, the impression was made, and it was with these undeveloped convictions that I returned to England, to begin parochial work in my church at Bridgwater, now drawing near to completion.

CHAPTER V.

LITTLEMORE.

WHEN I resumed work as an English clergyman, my belief in the claims of the Church of England to my allegiance was slowly giving way. Mr. Newman's Essay on *The Difficulties in the Scripture Proof of the Doctrines of the Church* had effected a radical change in the feelings with which I regarded the claims of Rome. His aim in the bold and subtle argument which he then put forward, had not been to apologize for the doctrines supposed to be especially Roman, but to show that the characteristic High Church Anglican theories rested on as firm a Scriptural basis as do the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, accepted by all orthodox Protestants. In neither case, he argued, are the doctrines taught

with that distinctness of definition which Protestants call for when they are asked to accept the Patristic theology. Either, then, he went on to say, with a daring at which he himself trembled, accept the sacramental teaching of the early Church, or confess that all orthodox Christianity is deficient in Scriptural proof.

In my own case this bold argument had the effect, not of shaking my orthodoxy, but of predisposing my thoughts towards Rome. And thus, when I set myself to teach orthodoxy at Bridgwater, it was with that colouring of Roman doctrine with which my mind had been imbued in Rome itself. In Anglicanism, strictly so called, I never could feel any genuine interest. Some writers, indeed, such as Bishop Andrewes, appeared to me to reflect the true spirit and meaning of the Psalms and the New Testament; but the general tone of the recognized Anglo-Catholic divines I thought cold and un-Scriptural.

The first practical shock was given to my Protestantism by the refusal of the Bishop of the diocese to allow my church to be opened, unless I removed the stone altar which I had put up. This, of course, was done; and conscience began to whisper, "Can the real doctrine of the sacraments be taught in a church where the use of this emblem of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist is forbidden?"

Early in the year 1845 my doubts had become so serious that the thought of the possibility of submission to Rome was constantly before my mind, and I determined to ask Mr. Newman to go over the whole question of Church authority with me. I had never been intimately acquainted with him, but I had no scruples in writing to him on the subject. He was then living out of Oxford, at Littlemore, a village in the neighbourhood, included in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin. Here he had built a new church, in connection with a conventual house, in which he himself, with a few attached friends and followers, lived a quiet monastic life. He wrote a cordial reply to my letter, inviting me to stay a few days at Littlemore, and discuss the whole momentous question in all its bearings.

In the conversations which I had with him, he stated the case in favour of the Church of England, leaving me to argue on the other side. How far his own mind was already made up, it was not for me to guess, but it was clear to me that he was contemplating the submission to Rome as within the limits of possibilities, for himself as well as others.

However, he did what he considered to be his duty in my case, and argued on the Anglican side with fulness and fairness. Everything, both with him and myself, depended on the answer to the question, Can the Church of England be rationally upheld as being in possession of that authority to teach which the Gospels and Epistles attribute to the One True Church of Christ? If I say that I found it an easy matter to point out the fallacies involved in Mr. Newman's arguments in defence of the Anglican theory, I am not praising my own acuteness at his expense, for really the Anglican theory is too transparently a fiction to require anything more than the candid statements of a friend to ensure its own demolition. When, therefore, I remained unconvinced, and asked Mr. Newman if he would give me a letter of introduction to Dr. Wiseman at Oscott, the Catholic College near Birmingham, he was in no way surprised or disturbed, and at once wrote me the necessary letter. He had never, I believe, seen Dr. Wiseman, but a short correspondence had once passed between them.

CHAPTER VI.

OSCOTT. DR. WISEMAN. MR. SPENCER.

ARRIVING at Oscott I found myself in a new world. The College is a large building of tolerably good Gothic architecture, standing in its own grounds. Dr. Wiseman, the Superior, met me with a cordial welcome, and made no secret of his gratification with the letter of introduction which Mr. Newman had given me. He had begun to fear that his belief in the Catholic tendencies of the Oxford movement was a mistake, and he regarded me as the first-fruits of that movement. He asked me whether I had any difficulties respecting detailed Roman doctrines which I wished removed, and on my informing him that I had none, I was admitted into the Catholic Church by conditional baptism on June 24, 1845.

The estimate which I soon formed of Dr. Wiseman's character and of the parts which he played in the progress of the religious movement of his time was, on the whole, correct, and was confirmed by my subsequent acquaintance with him. It was a character easily understood, notwithstanding its complexity and apparent inconsistencies.

He had from the first formed a just estimate of the essentially

Catholic principles which lay at the root of the teaching of the *Tracts for the Times*, and of Mr. Newman's sermons and controversial writings. He was convinced of the sincerity with which the principles of the new school were advocated, and as their result expected many conversions to Rome. In these views he differed from a large number of English Catholics, who regarded the Oxford movement as one of the various High Church revivals which have occasionally occurred in England, and which were essentially Protestant in their character. His mind was not one of any great depth, nor could he, strictly speaking, be called a learned man; but he was well informed in all matters of practical Catholic doctrine, discipline, and ritual, and was essentially liberal and unprejudiced in his tastes and feelings. As a rule, from his long residence in Rome, he wrote and preached in a somewhat artificial and pompous style, unless when his feelings were deeply moved. I once heard him preach on the festival of the Holy Name of Jesus, when all his ordinary artificial manner vanished, and every word spoke the simple love of his own heart for the Divine Redeemer of us all. He was, in fact, something of a child as well as a man, childlike in his faults as well as his virtues; and the proof of the deep-seated piety, simplicity and kindness of his heart is to be found in the fact that those who knew him most intimately also loved him best.

This was the feeling entertained towards him by a man very different from himself, the Rev. George Spencer, afterwards better known to the English Catholic world as Father Ignatius, of the Order of the Passionists. He was living at Oscott in 1845, chiefly employed in clerical work in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. He had been for some years a Catholic, and though an Oxford man was unconnected with the Oriel school. Mr. Spencer was one of those men, too rare in all ages of the Church, who accept with undoubting faith the teaching of our Lord and the Apostles on the efficacy of prayer. His earnest desire was for the conversion of England to the Catholic faith, and it was his life-long conviction that this conversion would be granted by God, if only it was prayed for in the manner enjoined by our Blessed Lord. He was not a reasoner nor a striking preacher, nor was he gifted with any uncommon abilities. But he was a man of great faith, and possessed of that courage which springs from faith, and from a consciousness that he was not seeking his own honour or profit, but simply doing what he

believed to be the will of God. People who could not understand the difference between enthusiasm and fanaticism, or between self-denying energy and blind obstinacy, often were annoyed at the persistence with which Father Ignatius went about the country, and through evil report and good report asked all Catholics to pray for the conversion of England, saying daily one Hail Mary for that end.

It is not within the scope of my story to attempt to trace the hidden action of that Divine Spirit which determines the course of all human events. But I may venture to say that I think no enlightened Catholic can doubt that the revival of the ancient faith in the midst of which we are living has been materially assisted by the work to which Father Ignatius devoted his life. I do not underrate the remarkable influence of Dr. Wiseman, especially before he became a Cardinal, nor that of other great thinkers and teachers. But convinced as I am that a great spiritual revival is taking place amongst us, I cannot but record the name of the humble-minded George Spencer, as that of one of the most influential instruments who have been employed by Almighty Wisdom to bring to nought the foolishness of human wisdom and to enlighten a people striving after more light so sincerely as do the English people of to-day.

CHAPTER VII.

ITALIAN AND ENGLISH JESUITS. DR. DÖLLINGER.

AFTER a short stay at Oscott, and the delay necessary for settling my affairs at Bridgwater, I went to live close to Prior Park, the Catholic College of what was then called the Western District. Standing on one of the highest hills overlooking Bath, Prior Park had long been an object of curiosity and admiration to travellers, ever since it was built by the rich Squire Allen, the original of Fielding's Squire Allworthy in *Tom Jones*. There I remained about two years, taking part in the education of the young men, and then I removed to London, for the purpose of conducting a Catholic periodical, *The Rambler*.

In 1849, the Revolution in Rome which caused the flight of Pius the Ninth, led to my making the acquaintance of several of the Jesuits, who were driven out of Rome and Italy, when the Pope was compelled to fly. Almost all of their most distinguished men had come to England, including Perrone,

De Vico, and Mazio. De Vico, whose reputation was high in the scientific world from his discovery of the comet which bears his name, went at once to Greenwich to see his old friend and correspondent, the Astronomer Royal; but Perrone and Mazio were at first lodged at a small hotel near Manchester Square. I saw Perrone occasionally. He was a man of much learning, ability, and candour, and was known as one of the earliest expositors of what is called the doctrine of development, and which had been employed by Mr. Newman in defence of the identity of the creed of the Council of Trent with that of the Nicene Council.

But it was with Mazio, who had been Professor of Canon Law in the Roman University, that I became most intimately acquainted. He had never before been out of Italy, but he spoke and wrote English almost as well as if he had lived half his life in England. I have never met with a man of a fairer and more dispassionate judgment, both as to persons and opinions. We became friends, and I corresponded with him till his death some years afterwards. Like most of the Jesuits, he was tolerant in his theological views, and he held strongly to the scientific side in his interpretation of the Pentateuch.

I spoke to him about the influence of anti-Christian books which were at that time being published, such as *The Nemesis of Faith*, and told him that I disliked reading them. His reply was, that in my character as editor of a Catholic periodical, it was my duty to read them.

Soon afterwards I paid a visit to the Jesuit College at St. Beuno's, in North Wales. At this College the Jesuit novices were trained, and there I met one or two old Oxford friends, who had entered the Society of Jesus.

The occasion of my visit was in more than one respect remarkable. It was, I believe, the first time that the old mediæval practice of maintaining theological theses against all comers was revived in England. It was not a young Jesuit who was to maintain these theses, but a friend of mine, Mr. William Clifford, now Bishop of Clifton, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Rome, who was a candidate for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, which was to be given him in Rome, if he successfully defended the propositions which he upheld. Of course the whole proceeding was rather of the nature of an academical exercise than a conflict between real antagonists. But it was well done and showed that the candidate had thoroughly got

up his theology and philosophy. Mr. Clifford spoke Latin with ease, and I was greatly interested. I had also abundant opportunities for observing the routine of life of a large Jesuit establishment, and the skill with which the rigid organization of the Society is carried out in its details. On the whole I was very favourably impressed.

While living in London I became acquainted with Dr. Dollinger, known afterwards to all the world as the founder of the sect of the "Old Catholics," as he termed them. In 1851 he was one of the Professors in the Catholic University of Munich, and the object of the special detestation of the once notorious Lola Montes. Since 1851, the year of the first International Exhibition in Hyde Park, events have moved on so rapidly that the strange power of Lola Montes over the foolish King of Bavaria is remembered by few of us. The silly King, infatuated by the wiles of this impudent actress, whose connection with him was denounced by the Catholic Professors at Munich, was persuaded by her to remove the obnoxious Professors from their posts, and practically to shut up the University altogether. The storm which ensued compelled the King to reinstate Dollinger and his coadjutors, and Lola Montes was banished.

I was greatly struck with Dollinger's character, as it showed itself in private conversation. His learning was extraordinary, and extended not only to historical and philosophical subjects, but to the most miscellaneous English literature. He knew the works of the chief Dissenting writers, as well as those of the old Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians.

In 1851 Dollinger was strenuously opposed to what he termed Gallicanism in theology, and he gave me a French translation of his elaborate work on the Reformation. By what peculiar intellectual process he was finally led to separate himself from the Church after the Vatican Council, I do not understand. The "Old Catholic" theory, upon which he relied for his justification, is the most whimsical and unpractical of speculations ever put forward by one who regards the Christian Church as a visible organic unity, and the divinely appointed dispenser of supernatural graces.

CHAPTER VIII.

AN ENGLISH DOMINICAN MONASTERY. FATHER LACORDAIRE.

AFTER a few years I found that I could easily continue to conduct *The Rambler* without being constantly in London, and I went to live at Woodchester, a village in Gloucestershire, a few miles from Stroud, where a Catholic church and monastery had been built by Mr. Leigh, a convert, the owner of Woodchester Park.

When I first knew Woodchester, the monastery was occupied by the Order of Passionists ; but shortly afterwards they left, and their place was taken by the English Dominicans, who are still living there. They made it their Novitiate, and for many years I was on terms of intimate friendship with them, and though nearly all whom I knew have gone to their rewards, my friendship is still unbroken. I write about them with the hesitation with which a man would write about his own family and domestic concerns. But it is necessary that I should speak about them, in order to complete the story of my life.

The Fathers were none of them men of whom the world has heard much ; but, as is usual in the Dominican Order, each of them retained his distinct individuality of character. I can best describe the general tone and spirit of the community by repeating what was said to me by the late Bishop Amherst, who wished to enter the Order, but whose failing health compelled him to give up the idea before his novitiate was completed. I was talking to him one day about the disappointment he was feeling, when his strength began to fail, and he then used words which I have never forgotten. "I never knew," he said, "what perfect Christian love was until I came here."

While I was at Woodchester, the great French preacher, Father Lacordaire, came to pass a few days at the monastery. He had been the means of re-establishing the Dominican Order in France, where the effect of his preaching and the position he took up in French politics made him one of the most conspicuous figures in French life under King Louis Philippe and during the Second Empire. He had been associated with Lamennais and Montalembert in founding the *Avenir*, the journal which for a short time created such a stir in French society ; but on the refusal of the Pope to countenance the publication of that daring paper, he had held little communica-

tion with Lamennais, who refused to submit to the decision of Rome, and in the end ceased to believe in Christianity itself.

With Montalembert Lacordaire continued on terms of intimate friendship until the death of the former, notwithstanding the differences of character and opinion between the two. Both were men of ardent zeal, and enthusiastic in their defence of the liberty of religious teaching. Both were, in the fullest sense, orthodox Catholics; both loved constitutionalism in politics, and were admirers of the English constitution, and both were orators of singular power.

But Montalembert was personally, as well as by birth an aristocrat, though honestly a Liberal; while Lacordaire, whose father was a provincial physician, was a representative of that professional or higher middle-class who are the strength of English life, but can scarcely be said to have existed in Continental society until our own time. To his honour Montalembert valued and clung to the more manly and vigorous nature of Lacordaire, and must have been a little bewildered by his friend's well-known saying, "I hope to live and die a penitent Catholic and an impenitent Liberal!"

When Lacordaire came to England, it was in consequence of an intimation received from the Emperor Louis Napoleon, who desired him to absent himself from France for a brief period, till the effect produced by his denunciation of despotism had subsided. Speaking to his congregations in the south of France, Lacordaire had pointed out the demoralizing effects of a despotism upon the social and domestic life of a nation. Of course the Emperor took it to himself, and Lacordaire was desired to absent himself for awhile.

He travelled through England in his black and white friar's habit; the Dominicans are not "monks," but "friars"—the black friars of old, as distinguished from the Cistercians, or white friars. He remained at Oxford one night. It was vacation time. He knew no one, and he wandered about among the various Colleges, his warm and sympathetic nature filled with mingled delight and sadness. I had a long conversation with him about French politics and the general character of the French mind. He lamented the fondness of Frenchmen for official interference and assistance in all their affairs, to the exclusion of that individualism which is the life of English activity, and which is cultivated, so far as the monastic system allows, in the Dominican Order. He himself struck me as

being personally a happy illustration of this vigorous individuality, and I do not wonder at the respect and affection which his open, manly nature inspired in all those who had to do with him. When I saw him, I did not know that for some years in his life he had been under the influence of the French scepticism of the times, and that it was through his own bitter experience that he had learnt how to argue the defence of the Christian revelation with that singular skill exhibited in his famous *Conférences* delivered to the Parisian world in Notre Dame.

Had I known his past history as I now know it, I should have learnt some things from his experience which I came afterwards to learn by my own, though there is little affinity between the old French scepticism which assailed Lacordaire's mind, and that calmer and more historical criticism which supplies the groundwork of modern English unbelief.

CHAPTER IX.

SCEPTICAL DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR SOLUTION.

IN the midst of my labours on behalf of Catholicism and for the promotion of general culture among Catholics, the whole class of difficulties known as sceptical forced themselves upon my mind, and at last took one definite shape. I found myself unable to believe any longer in the reality of the miracles recorded in the New Testament as undoubted historical facts. Upon these events, and mainly upon the reality of the supernatural birth of Jesus from a Virgin Mother and His resurrection from the dead, the claim of the Catholic Church to our allegiance is based; and in finally concluding that these miracles could not be satisfactorily proved, I ceased, *ipso facto*, to be a Catholic. For in the Catholic Church the Anglican practice which allows greater latitude to the laity than to the clergy, is unknown. The same creed binds the Pope and the humblest of his attendants. When, therefore, I became finally unable to answer the theory that miracles are in themselves incredible, I simply ceased to be a Catholic.

It is unnecessary to trouble my readers with the details of the subtleties with which this opinion is popularly supported. It will be enough if I give an outline of the arguments by which, after some years of unbelief, my mind was restored to its old convictions as to the supernatural origin of the Christian reli-

gion, as a revelation from God to man. My readers will pardon me if I go at some little length into the argument, as it is impossible to exhibit it except as a whole. I will, however, state it as concisely as I can, and omit all details not absolutely necessary to its comprehension.

The question, it should be premised, is one of historical fact, and is to be decided, like all historical questions, by reference to documents of undoubted trustworthiness.

1. The preliminary facts of the case are, then, as follows. Nearly nineteen hundred years ago a new religion arose in Judea, then under the dominion of the Roman Empire. It was taught by a Person whose name was Jesus, and who claimed to have a right to the title of "Christ," that is, the Anointed One; and in after years His followers were known generally as Christians.

Jesus Himself was put to death by the Roman Governor of Judea, on the pretence that He was a disloyal subject of the Roman Emperor (Tiberius Cæsar), and was attempting to set up an independent sovereignty of His own among the conquered Jews.

These are the elementary events which confront us when we begin our researches into the history of Christianity. No one doubts that these things were so, nor is there any doubt as to certain other facts. It is undeniable that the conquered Jews had in their possession several ancient books, the hereditary treasures of their race, to which the new Teacher appealed as His credentials, and as giving Him a claim to be regarded as a divinely-sent instructor. It is also certain that after His death His followers rapidly multiplied, in spite of bloody persecutions, and that His religion was accepted by multitudes of men and women, not of Jewish race, who exhibited the same fervour as the original believers, until in the end the religion of Jesus became that of the Roman Cæsars themselves. Further: the lives of the Christians, as well as their deaths, displayed a marked contrast to those of the whole heathen world, civilized and uncivilized.

2. How, then, can this astonishing phenomenon be accounted for? It is without parallel in the history of humanity. What was it that inspired these multitudes with their strange zeal on behalf of an obscure Jewish Teacher, inducing them to lead lives of mortification and self-sacrifice, and to encounter tortures and death rather than renounce their allegiance to Him, or

cease from their labours to bring all the world to share their belief?

We have ample means for answering the question. Soon after the death of Jesus, various writings came into circulation among his followers, which, when they were subsequently collected together, were found to include four separate biographies of Jesus Himself, with a narrative of the proceedings of some of His chief followers, styled Apostles, and various letters written by a few of them, but chiefly by one of their number, to the believers in various parts of the Roman Empire. Whether or not these biographies are substantially true narratives, it is impossible to doubt that they record the beliefs of their writers, while the letters give an exact picture of the convictions of the Apostles who wrote them.

3. We examine these writings, then, without any preconceived theory, simply as historical documents, in order to ascertain what was the faith of those who wrote them. In this examination our attention is arrested by three main facts. First, the writers accepted the reality of miracles without a shadow of hesitation. Secondly, they looked up to Jesus Christ as possessing Divine power, and as exercising a perpetual sovereignty over His followers. And thirdly, they regarded these followers as having been organized by Him into a certain visible institution, described by them as "the Church." There are, in truth, about seventy passages in the New Testament, in which mention is made of "the Church," thus founded and governed. No man, I repeat, can examine the Gospels and Epistles without prejudice, and fail to see that from end to end they are pervaded with this threefold element. A determined objector may of course assert that St. Paul did not really write the Epistles which bear his name, as there have been sane men who have held that Shakespeare's Plays were written by Lord Bacon. But such dreams are beyond the province of serious criticism.

The early Christians, then, were prompted to their pure and self-sacrificing lives and their heroic martyrdoms, by a conviction that their Master was the Redeemer of the world, and nothing less than the Son of God. And their writings, in which they record His life, are entitled to be accepted as substantially true history, unless it can be shown that they are based upon impossibilities in their first principles. No other explanation is to be given of the origin of the New Testament writings

and their acceptance by Christians at the time when they appeared.

The only alternative which remains to the sceptic is the theory that, all miracles being incredible, St. Paul and the other New Testament writers were under an illusion, and mistook their own excited fancies for positive objective realities. In other words, they and the rest of the first Christians lived lives of self-denial and endured horrible deaths, *for a mistake*.

4. The question is thus narrowed to this further consideration. The alternative theory just stated is simply incredible, except on the supposition that no miraculous story can possibly be true, and that therefore St. Paul and the other New Testament writers *must* have been in error in imagining that Jesus was supernaturally born from a Virgin Mother. This is, after all, the one fundamental question which lies at the root of the whole matter. And it has to be determined by the recognition of the truth that we are beings of a twofold nature. We are capable of purely corporeal action, and we are capable of acting as beings under moral responsibility to God who made us. The laws of the visible universe govern our bodily existence; but they have no authority over our moral or invisible selves.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the supremacy of law, as such, is universal. It must be so, because it is the result of the action of God, who is eternal and unchanging. If, according to the old Manichean hypothesis, the universe was the battlefield of a conflict between two eternal powers, one good and the other evil, we might expect to see everywhere tokens of apparent caprice and irregularity, as one or other of the combatants was for the moment the victor in the never-ending strife. But it is not so. There is but one God, and He knows neither variableness nor shadow of turning. The reign of law, therefore, which results from His unchangeableness, is universal.

5. Further, it is manifestly within His power to combine the action of the two classes of laws by which He governs the universe, whenever it pleases Him. There is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that He might modify the action of the laws which govern our corporeal existence, for the purpose of assisting in the growth of our spiritual nature. And this is precisely what the first Christians asserted that He had done in the case of the birth and resurrection of Jesus, and in support of which assertion they travelled through the civilized world,

dying in torments rather than renounce this conviction, or repudiate their Master's claims.

6. The final question, then, before us is this. Was the moral and intellectual condition of humanity before the teaching of Jesus such as could be supposed to be in harmony with the purposes for which the race of man was called into existence by an Almighty and not malevolent power? It is undeniable that, with few exceptions, self-indulgence, cruelty, superstition, helplessness, and misery, have been the doom of our race. It is an awful mystery, but it is true nevertheless.

Was there, then, anything incredible, or even astonishing, in the assertion of the first Christians that as a matter of fact it had pleased God to begin a new creation of our race, and in the place of the first mother from whom we had inherited our sorrows, to call into existence a new Mother, from whom should be born a Redeemer for us all, and further, that a miraculous birth from this Mother should attest the reality of His Divine mission, showing that He was sent by that Supreme God who had decreed the universality of physical laws in the conduct of human affairs?

Thus, when the New Testament writers recounted the birth of Jesus from Mary, and spoke of Him as possessing all power in Heaven and earth, they simply alleged that the laws of man's spiritual nature were made to control the laws of his corporeal nature, and the great principle of the inviolability of law was upheld.

7. Recognizing the validity of this reasoning, my doubts vanished, and I became what I was before they presented themselves to my mind. If I had changed at all, it was in the acquisition of a deeper sense of the greatness of the functions which the Mother of Jesus has been appointed by God to fulfil in the economy of the redemption of man from sin and sorrow.

And so ends the story I have had to tell. In many respects it is a sad and painful story; but it is a true record of the struggles and weaknesses of one man's inner life, such as is being now lived by thousands of men and women in this modern England, and wherever the English race settles itself in any part of the world.

In the intellectual and physical vitality of that race I am a firm believer; and if its moral and spiritual defects are serious, where is another to be found to which the words of our Blessed

Lord are not applicable, when He said, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone?"

What is still in store for our English race in itself, and what purpose it is designed, in the eternal counsels of God, to fulfil, no one can foresee. For myself, though I am come to the age when men usually look forward to the future with more despondency than hope, I cannot but believe that the English race will be the instrument for spreading far and wide the knowledge of Christ crucified, with that faith in Him and in His ever-present power, which I have learnt to regard as the most precious of blessings. Perhaps, too, there are those who will find in these my confessions some little help in their own secret strivings after more light and peace.

J. M. CAPES, M.A.

The United States Military Academy.

It is a remarkable fact that the United States, with a greater extent of coast to defend, has a smaller navy than any nation on the sea-board, and that with almost ever-recurring disturbances from hostile tribes on her frontiers, her army numbers less than twenty-five thousand men. Yet during the late Civil War she sent into the field an effective force of more than three million of men, whose vigorous and rapid organization is compared by an historian of the war, the Comte de Paris, to the sudden uprising of those mysterious legions which took form and life in the presence of the Hebrew Prophet. They were well drilled, well equipped, and second to no army of modern times in their achievements. This was in a great measure due to the large number of well-trained, well-disciplined graduates of her Military Academy, who flocked from the bar, the pulpit, the counting-house, and other avocations of civil life to which they had retired, and filled every arm of the service with able and efficient officers thoroughly instructed in all branches of their profession. This may seem strange to Transatlantic readers, ignorant of the magnitude of the contest known as the American Civil War.

A writer in *Blackwood* some years ago likened it to a game of chess which he witnessed in an asylum between two lunatics. The players, who knew nothing of the game, moved at random all over the board, each alternately calling check while the other looked wise and gravely assented, until the game ended by one of the players crying mate. Neither the Federals nor the Confederates, he affirmed, knew what they were fighting for, nor when they were victorious. Each side alternately cried victory. A fairer criticism of the great war, however, is to be found in the writings of statesmen and strategists like Von Moltke, the Comte de Paris, and others quite as capable of judging, and with more military experience than the author of the article in *Blackwood*.

A country relying thus upon a volunteer force in all its conflicts, was early taught the necessity of a military school for the education of officers familiar with the traditions and spirit of an army, and capable of instructing and governing raw troops. In 1776, General Knox, at that time colonel of artillery, urged upon the Board of War of the revolted colonies the establishment of a Military Academy on a plan resembling that of Woolwich, "a place to which our enemies," he adds, "are indebted for the superiority of their artillery to all who have opposed them." But the National Military Academy, of which the United States is justly proud, owes its existence to the wisdom and persevering energy of the "Father of his country." Washington repeatedly brought before Congress in his annual message the necessity of an institution of this kind, but it was not until 1802, three years after his death, that an Academy was established at West Point, a spot full of historic interest and thrilling memories. It occupies a bold promontory about one hundred and sixty feet above the level of the Hudson in the midst of wild mountain scenery. On the hills which overshadow it the watch-fires of patriots burned; old fortifications, well placed upon the slope and crest, recall the story of a brave defence of country, and the soil itself is hallowed with the blood of the country's bravest defenders.

The institution, however, owing to a lack of system and military discipline, had but a languishing existence for many years. The regulations were disregarded; the cadets were even admitted without examination, and the qualifications required by law were completely ignored. Happily for the struggling Academy, Major Sylvanus Thayer, of the Corps of Engineers, was appointed superintendent in 1817, and gave to the institution the virility and force of a military organization. He had served with distinction in the war of 1812, and in addition to this experience brought with him to his new duties a thorough knowledge of the military schools of France. He formed the cadets into a battalion, appointed a commandant of cadets to instruct in tactics and generally superintend their education. He introduced the custom of an annual Board of Visitors (appointed by the President and the two branches of Congress), and nearly all the practical regulations which are still in force at West Point. An experience of sixteen years at his post enabled him to revise and perfect his theories in the military government of the institution, and the success of his indefatigable labours

won for him the title of the "Father of the Academy." His services are commemorated by a granite statue opposite the cadet barracks, which represents him in undress uniform with a military cloak over his shoulders; the pedestal of the statue bears in gold letters the simple inscription:

COLONEL THAYER,

Father of the West Point Military Academy.

According to the revised regulations of the army of the United States adopted in 1866, the faculty of the Military Academy now consists of a commanding officer styled superintendent, a commandant of cadets, and a certain number of professors and instructors. The Academic Board, before which the examinations are conducted, includes the superintendent, commandant of cadets, professors and instructors of practical military engineering, ordnance, and gunnery. An army officer fills the post of adjutant of the Academy and secretary to the Academic Board, and sees to the preservation of the records and papers of the institution. The duties of treasurer of the Academy are also performed by an army officer, and in fact all the important work of the institution is confided to officers.

The cadets are selected for the Academy by the representatives of their Congressional Districts, each of whom is allowed to send the name of one candidate residing in his district to the Secretary of War. The President also has the power of appointing ten cadets from any part of the country.

The regulations governing admission to the Academy require that the candidate be between seventeen and twenty-two years of age; that he possess a knowledge of the elements of English grammar, descriptive geography, particularly that of his own country, as well as of the history of the United States, and he must be able to perform with facility and accuracy the operations of the four ground rules of arithmetic, reduction, simple and compound fractions, and of vulgar and decimal fractions. The mental requirements seem simple, yet it is said that thirty-nine per cent. of the candidates fail to pass the preliminary examination. The regulations also require that the applicant be at least five feet in height, and free from any physical or moral deformity, disease, or infirmity, which would

unfit him for military service ; he must also be unmarried, and so continue during the Academic course, a period of four years. The marriage of a cadet at the Academy is equivalent to his resignation.

The periods appointed for admission are the first twenty days of June and the 28th of August. The June cadets enter at once upon the school of the soldier, for during the latter part of June, and all the months of July and August, the corps is in tents upon the plain, and the whole encampment, as far as practical, is subjected to the strict military discipline observed in time of war. The tents are about six feet square, and accommodate usually two cadets. The principle article of camp furniture is a "locker," divided into three compartments, which represents what the cadet, with humorous irony, is pleased to term his *wardrobe*, *sofa-fauteuil*, and *escritoire* ; this, with a gun-rack for muskets, a tin box for candles, musket cleaning materials, a broom, wash-bowl, dipper, and bucket, a couple of blankets, and pillows, and a mirror suspended from the front tent pole, comprise the comforts and adornments of his summer quarters.

Much of the sentinel duty of the camp falls to the lot of the new candidates, whose awkwardness and ignorance of military discipline are more than the practical jokers of the corps seem able to resist. The commonest and mildest joke to which the new cadet is subjected is known as the "ghost." There is a remote post where the sentry's walk is very lonely, and has the reputation of being infested with ghosts, which invariably visit him the first night on guard. He is probably counting the weary hours of a starless night, or perhaps has returned in spirit to the home whose comforts and endearments he is still too much of a novice not to miss, when he is suddenly awakened from his reveries by the solemn tread of a spectral figure or perhaps of an array of spectres approaching from opposite directions. In reply to his challenge : "Who goes there?" a sepulchral voice answers : "*The Spirit of Retributive Ablution!*" At the order "Advance and give the countersign," several buckets of water from the front and rear deluge and blind the poor sentinel, rendering it an easy matter for the spectres to wrap him in a sheet and roll him into a convenient hollow near his post, where he is left to extricate himself as best he may with a scavenger's wheelbarrow inverted over him.

The applicants who enter in September are designated "Seps," which name always clings to them. A novice will frequently congratulate himself, until he has had some experience as a "Sep," upon escaping the arduous duties and "police" of the June encampment. Generally a week or ten days elapse before the September men learn the result of their preliminary examination, during which time they are crowded four in a room with no other bed than a blanket and pillow on the floor, besides being the object of the merciless raillery and practical jokes, not only of the third and second class, but of their own class, the June men who with strange logic vent all the "haying" and "deviling" of the seniors upon the new arrivals. At the end of the week their ardour for military glory has considerably abated, and very often the news of failure is received by the aspirant with a sigh of relief, and he returns home inwardly thankful for his escape from the hands of the Philistines. Before his examination he is designated as one of the "beasts," and for the first year by the opprobrious epithet "Plebe," which is doubtless a contraction of plebeian. The regulations against this practice of "haying," however, have been strenuously enforced of late by the Superintendent of the Academy, and the dismissal of several cadets has perceptibly lessened it.

After the January examination, the names of the young men who are found deficient are sent to the Secretary of War, and recommended for dismissal; the others are then admitted to full cadetship, upon signing an agreement that they will serve in the army of the United States for eight years, unless sooner discharged by competent authority, and the following oath is administered to them: "I N. solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and bear true allegiance to the National Government, that I will maintain the sovereignty of the United States paramount to any and all allegiance, sovereignty, or fealty I may owe to any state or country whatever; that I will at all times obey the legal orders of my superior officers, and the rules and articles governing the armies of the United States."

The course of studies comprises:

1. *Pure mathematics*, embracing algebra, geometry, trigonometry, analytical and descriptive geometry, and the calculus.
2. *Physics*, comprising analytical mechanics, principles of molecular science, heat, sound, light, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology.

3. *Languages*, comprising, during the first two years, English grammar, rhetoric, composition, and French. In the last year of the course Spanish is added; it is considered necessary because of the relations of the United States with Mexico and Spanish-speaking people.

4. *Professional studies*—the minor tactics of the three arms of the service, ordnance, and gunnery, topographical and free-hand drawing, international, constitutional, and military law, strategy, grand tactics, the art of war, civil and military engineering.

Discipline is enforced by a system of punishments which consist principally of extra guard duty for several Saturdays during the hours of recreation, reprimands in public, confinement to room or tent for twelve or forty-eight hours according to the offence, imprisonment, or dismissal. The last two can only be inflicted by a decree of a court-martial; the others are imposed by order of the Superintendent.

Each cadet receives a salary of forty-five dollars a month, which he is not allowed to handle while at the Academy. All necessaries are supplied him by the Government at a little above cost price, and with the expenses of his mess, clothes, books, &c., deducted from his salary; four dollars are put aside each month to pay for his uniform when he graduates. Only at the end of the course is a balance struck and any amount in his favour made over to him. A cadet known to receive money from home is obliged to return it. He is expected to live within his pay, and as all luxuries are not only denied him, but confiscated if discovered, this is not so difficult, particularly since the departure of the convivial "Benny Havens," without a notice of whom any sketch of West Point would be incomplete.

Benny's is a classic name at the Academy. It is not commemorated in stone but it lives in song. For many years he was the owner of a small booth on the plain, where he dispensed pancakes, biscuits, flip, and stronger beverage, "after taps," to hungry cadets; but his hospitality was so enticing and his drinks so confusing, that the authorities finally expelled him from the Government grounds. He immediately started a new establishment down among the rocks below the south gate of the Academy. Beyond this gate a cadet cannot pass without incurring an appalling number of demerits. This fact, by doubling the danger, only added new flavour to his forbidden fruit, and increased the number of his customers. The following

is the closing stanza of the popular Army Song which commemorates the stolen revels at his place :

When this life's troubled sea is o'er and our last battle through,
If God permits us mortals then His bless'd domain to view,
Then shall we see with glory crowned in proud celestial row,
The friends we've known and loved so well at Benny Havens, Oh !
Oh ! Benny Havens, Oh !

Upon the death of Surgeon O'Brien, the author of the song, who died in Florida, the following stanza was added :

There comes a voice from Florida, from Tampa's lonely shore,
It is the wail of gallant men : O'Brien is no more !
In the land of sun and flowers his head lies pillowed low,
No more to sing *Petite coquille* at Benny Havens, Oh !
Oh ! Benny Havens, Oh !

Not the least trying experience of the cadet is his first performance in the riding-hall, where usually his earliest lesson is without saddle or stirrups on a hard trotting animal, rendered vicious by the antics and mischief of the preceding class ; a pair of spurs and a heavy sabre only add to his trouble, for he has not yet learned to keep his heels well turned out, and in his frantic efforts to retain his seat, he unconsciously buries his spurs in the animal's sides, and when this operation is supplemented by a blow on the flank from the unmanageable sabre worn by the rider, the best tempered horse will become restive. Lieutenant Wood, in an amusing sketch of his *Alma Mater*, gives a graphic and detailed description of his first equestrian exercise, from which we quote the following extract.

It is my opinion, soberly expressed, if you want a man's soul and body to part company, just place him on a hard-trotting horse, with a No. 3 McClellan saddle, with *no stirrups*, and set him going ! If you find anything left of him when he stops—that is, if he *does* stop—it will be little less than a miracle. . . . The brute (Reynolds) I was on showed a decided inclination to stand on his ears, and on the tip end of his tail. He started off, however, at a walk quite respectably, but at the command "Trot march !"—"oh, then began the tempest of my soul !" (I never fully realized the sense of that expression before). To my intense disgust, my horse was determined to get to the head of the platoon, and accordingly started off on one of the most *terrific, hard, swift, long, stiff-legged* trots that ever had fallen to my lot. The saddle had been worn so confoundedly smooth and slippery by constant use, that it was just like glass. The bare idea that a person of my size could keep himself within hailing distance of *such* a saddle was perfectly absurd. In riding without stirrups we have to hold ourselves on

by the pressure of the knees and thighs. When the old brute started off with such an infernal hard trot, I commenced striking the saddle like a rubber ball, bounding, in spite of all I could do, as if I had been knocked on the head with a club, and struck the saddle only to bound up again. In addition to this graceful but eccentric movement, I rolled all over that abominable saddle, sometimes riding Indian fashion with one leg over the saddle and the other within six inches of the tan bark.

The extract is too long to quote in full. The lesson finally terminated by his flying over the horse's head in a terrific gallop, and landing in the tan bark directly under the feet of the horses, some of which jumped over him, and others shied to one side. He was carried feet first to the hospital, but the following week rid himself of all remaining stiffness by another hour's exercise in the riding-hall. Though this is no exaggerated description, serious accidents are exceedingly rare.

Among the many interesting relics on this historic spot, one of the first which meets the eye of the tourist from the deck of the river steamer as he approaches West Point, is the monument to Kosciuszkos, the brave Polish leader upon whose downfall Campbell wrote :

Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked when Kosciuszkos fell.

The beautiful marble Cenotaph stands within Fort Clinton, which was built by the brave Pole himself during the Revolutionary War. He joined the American army at the age of twenty, and at the close of the Revolution returned to Poland, where he was taken prisoner in the Polish Revolution of 1797, and carried to St. Petersburg. The Emperor Paul liberated him on the death of the Empress Catherine, and, returning him his sword, offered him a command in the Russian army, but the brave patriot declined it, saying, "I no longer need a sword, since I have no longer a country to defend."

Southward from Kosciuszkos' monument, another marble commemorates the brave defence and death of a detachment of United States' troops under the command of Major F. L. Dade, who was massacred with all his force by the Indians in the Everglades of Florida.

A short distance to the left of the last monument a flight of stone steps introduces one into a woodland nook on the steep bank of the river overhung with thick foliage, and known as "Kosciuszkos' Garden." In the centre is a marble fountain,

which encircles the living spring discovered here by Kosciuszko, with whom the spot was a favourite resort for meditation and repose. Rustic seats scattered here and there, and ornamental shrubs add to the picturesqueness of the place. From this romantic retreat a beautiful path called "Chain Battery Walk," but more generally and appropriately known as "Flirtation Walk," pursues its tortuous way along the river bank on the border of steep precipices and overhanging cliffs, until it diverges into a steep path which brings you to the top of the plain near the hotel. From the piazza of the hotel one commands the finest of the many fine pictures to be enjoyed from the various points of the plateau. Before you lies the moving panorama of the Hudson, filled with sails of every description; westward your view is bounded by the level range of the Shawangunk mountains, varied by occasional glimpses of the blue Katszberg peaks, with the city of Newburg lying between. To your left rises "Cro Nest," a group of hills in the centre of which is a huge circular depression surrounded by lofty pines and cedars, which conveys the idea of an enormous crow's nest. Rodman Drake, in his exquisite poem of the "Culprit Fay," gives the following moonlit picture of the grand old mountain :

The moon looks down on old Cro Nest,
 She mellows the shades on his shaggy breast,
 And seems his huge gray form to throw
 In a silver cone on the waves below.
 His sides are broken by spots of shade
 By the walnut bough and the cedar made,
 And through their clustering branches dark
 Glimmers and dies the fire-fly's spark—
 Like starry twinkles that momentarily break
 Through the rifts of the gathering tempests rack.

Beyond "Cro Nest" towers the "Storm King," a rugged mass of rock at the base of which stretches a beautiful valley composed of verdant slopes, broken by deep ravines and threaded by clear mountain streams. It was doubtless in this sylvan spot that the fairy folk were summoned to greet the return of the unfortunate culprit who

... forgot the Lily King's behest
 ... and loved an earthly maid.

Ouphe and goblin ! imp and sprite !
 Elf of eve ! and Starry Fay !
 Ye that love the moon's soft light,
 Hither—hither wend your way.

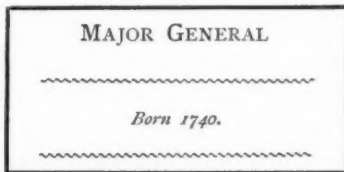
Twine ye in a jocund ring,
Sing and trip it merrily,
Hand to hand and wing to wing,
Round the wild witch hazel tree.

A path to the left of the hotel leads to the public buildings on the plain, among which that known as the "Academic Building" contains much that is interesting, notably the chemical laboratory on the first floor, the cabinet of minerals and fossils on the second, the ordnance and artillery museum on the third. The walls of the latter are draped with colours of the war of 1812, and flags carried on the battlefields of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, and Chapultepec. About the room in cases are ranged models exhibiting the progressive manufacture of the musket from the beginning to its completion, and a curious collection and variety of artillery, shot, shell, cartridges, fuzes, swords, pistols, and implements of war, both ancient and modern. Conspicuous in the centre of the room is a model of the celebrated silver mine of Valenciana, at Guanajuato, Mexico. It is more than six feet in height, and six feet square; on its surface are depicted in silver amalgam the galleries and shafts of the mine with its numerous operatives, their implements and horses engaged in the various stages of the mining work. It was originally constructed as a present for the Pope, but after the occupation of the city of Mexico by the American army, a subscription was raised among the officers to purchase it for West Point. The building itself is a handsome stone structure 275 x 75 feet. In addition to the department just mentioned, it contains a fencing department, engineering, artillery, mathematical, and geographical model rooms, numerous large recitation rooms, a picture gallery, and a gallery of sculpture.

The observatory and library, which at present are one building, form an imposing structure 160 feet in length and 70 in depth on the south-east corner of the plain. It is built of stone, castellated and corniced with red sand stone. A new observatory is nearly completed on an eminence overlooking the plain and commanding a magnificent view of the surrounding country. When the West Shore Railroad was projected, the company requested permission to tunnel the plateau upon which the academy buildings stand. The privilege was repeatedly refused on the ground that the vibration of the road would interfere with the work of the observatory, until the company offered to build at their own expense the new observatory at a cost of

twenty thousand dollars. The library contains about twenty-four thousand volumes, chiefly on scientific and military subjects, but including also the current literature of the day, and the principal English and American reviews. It is open to the cadets every afternoon. Congress allows an annual appropriation of two thousand dollars for its support.

West of the library is the chapel. Its walls are ornamented with flags, trophies, and mural tablets bearing the names of distinguished Generals of the Revolutionary War. One curious tablet rarely fails to attract the attention of the visitor. It is of black marble uniform with the others, but bears only these words—



The blank spaces are furrows cut into the stone as if a name had been effaced. Thus is the story of Arnold's treachery handed down to his countrymen. South-east of the library, parallel with the Hudson are the stables and riding-school, the latter is a large stone building spanned by a single curved roof. It is said to be one of the finest buildings for equestrian exercises in the United States. The quarters of the officers and professors are chiefly on the western side of the plain, pleasantly located at the foot of the mountains facing a broad shady street.

Aside from proficiency in studies conduct has an important influence in determining the standing of cadets. The rank in which a cadet graduates, and consequently his future career, is made to depend not alone upon his mental proficiency, or class standing, but upon the record of his subordination, obedience, fidelity, neatness, and order. There is no public unsectarian institution where a higher moral tone prevails, nor one to which a youth may be sent with less danger to his faith. Let him be well grounded in his faith at home, teach him by precept, but more particularly by example, that it is an unmanly and cowardly thing to be ashamed to live up to what he believes, give him a few years in a good Catholic college, and if he loses his faith at West Point it will be due to some defect in his home training or

to the boy himself, for there is nothing in the system of the academy to counteract such an influence. Attendance at religious worship once on Sunday is enforced by the authorities, and every reasonable facility is afforded the young men for the practice of their religion. We cannot forbear citing an instance of the liberality of the present Superintendent in this respect. It was noticed that the Catholic cadets were frequently absent from breakfast; the attention of the corps was therefore called to a regulation forbidding cadets to absent themselves from the mess hall without permission. On the first Sunday of the month the Cadet Adjutant requested permission to "fall out of ranks" for breakfast. This meant a fast from six o'clock the previous evening until noon the next day, which was no light penance, considering the proverbial heartiness of a cadet's appetite, stimulated by mountain air and several hours of out-door drill. The Commandant, no doubt curious to learn the motive of this voluntary fast, asked the young Adjutant his reason for requesting the permit. He answered with straightforward manliness that he desired to receive Communion, and that in his Church he was obliged to receive this Sacrament fasting. The permission was granted, and nothing further was said. A few days afterwards the Catholic Chaplain had occasion to see the Superintendent on business; as he was about taking his leave, the Superintendent said: "Now, Father E——, I have done you a favour and I want one in return. "Certainly, General," answered the Chaplain, "anything in my power I will be very glad to do." "Then you must let these young gentlemen take their breakfast before going to the Sacrament." The Chaplain explained that the fast before Communion was one of the rules of the Church, and beyond his power to alter. "Then they shall have their breakfast kept for them," said the kind-hearted General. A few days afterwards the Cadet Adjutant was informed that henceforth any Catholic cadet desiring "to go to the Sacrament" could have his breakfast reserved for him by leaving word in the "mess hall" the night before.

The cadet who graduates not lower than fifth in his class is entitled to enter the corps of Engineers. All below this number are assigned according to their class-standing, to the cavalry, artillery, and infantry, in the order named, as vacancies exist.

After graduation, when he abandons the "cadet grey" and dons the "army blue," the change is not from the grub to the butterfly, but rather from the butterfly to the grub. He is no longer

the important bechevoned cadet officer, the petted and privileged fledgling hero of good-natured mammas and budding belles, but a simple unromantic second lieutenant, ranking last among the officers of the post if retained there on duty, and compelled to stand aside while his youthful successors compete for the favour of fair visitors, and carry them off before his eyes to the subtle and irresistible mazes of "Flirtation Walk." An inflexible West Point etiquette forbids the officer to intrench upon the preserves of the cadet, who with characteristic modesty believes that the influx of summer visitors is attracted thither solely by the fascinations of the younger sons of wars.

If he be assigned to some frontier post on the outskirts of civilization, the transformation is still more striking. The isolation of these remote posts, and the slowness of promotion in the army, at present induce many to resign at the end of their time of service. Their education fits them for numerous professions in civil life, and is a solid foundation for all professions. West Point graduates have held the highest places in a nation not exposed to foreign wars nor addicted to conquest, they have executed with dignity and ability high executive trusts, contributed by their text books to elevate the scientific standards of her educational institutions, improved her harbours, lakes, and rivers, lighted her coasts, built her fortifications, and greatly aided in the construction of the vast chain of railways and canals which transport the produce of the continent. Therefore even in time of peace we may sum up the academy's importance to the country in the words which Napoleon applied to the Polytechnic school of France: *C'est le poulet aux œufs d'or.*

E. M'MAHON.

Lines on Murillo's picture, "The Immaculate Conception."

The picture which suggested this poem is in the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Bournemouth, to which it was presented by the late Count de Torre Diaz, to whose memory this poem is inscribed.

"A SIGN was seen in Heaven: a Woman stood;
Beneath her feet the moon." That waning moon
'Neath yonder pictured Apparition curved,
Is Time there dying with his dying months:
The Spirit showed that vision to Saint John,
Exiled in Patmos isle. The best beloved
Deserved such solace best.

She stands in Heaven:
Not yet the utmost mountain-peaks of earth,
Forth from the hoary deep unlifted still,
Have felt her foot's pure touch. A cloud from God,
On streaming like a tide, thus far hath borne her
To the threshold only of the house of man:
Angelic heads and wings beneath her gleam,
And lily, and rose, and palm. Her knee is bent:
Her moon-like face is tearful with great awe:
Her universe is God, and other none;
Piercing all worlds her gaze is fixed on Him:
She waits His Will supreme.

Men of good will

Draw near in faith honouring the mystery !
 The sunrise of your wondrous world of faith
 Was when the Angel spake, and at his word,
 Mary believed : its noon was Pentecost,
 Then when the Church of God stood up, sun-clad
 By Him the ascended Sun of Righteousness.
 This is not noon or sunrise : this is dawn ;
 The aurora of the spiritual heaven and earth :
 For them alone the visible worlds shall be :
 Their Loveliness shall be but her's writ large :
 Their Fruitfulness the type of hers : her life,
 When time is ripe, shall be a music-strain
 Tuning all harmonies of time ; itself
 An echo through the centuries prolonged
 From this first bird-note clear.

The painter's hand

Wrought well ! Yon robe glitters, a pearl of dawn ;
 Yon purple scarf blown back by her advance
 Is dark with dews and shades of vanquished night ;
 The raised hands upward pointing from that breast
 Are matutinal with some heavenlier beam
 That streaks our East. That sunless mist behind her
 Wins but from her its glow.

O young fair face !—

For though that form to maiden graciousness
 Hath reached, the face is maiden less than child,
 Or both in one, an earlier mystery
 Precursor of that Maiden Motherhood
 Which blends two gifts divine. Child-Prophet soft!
 What thoughts are hers ? He only knows Who sends
 them !

From Him they come ; to Him once more ascend.
Child-Prophet sad ! Feels she the destined weight
Of crowns and sceptres, and the wide earth's praise
Honouring her humblest ? She that would be nought
Must she be Queen of all ?

Not yet ! not yet !
Ere comes that day she must be Queen of Woes :
This, this is the beginning, not the end,
A world redeemed must be a world sin-marred :
That world as yet exists not. This is she
Through whom, though man had never fallen, his God
Then too had dwelt with man (so taught the Seer),
Not victim but triumphant. Sleep, O Eve !
Thy daughter's foot—yon picture veils, yet shows it—
Thy daughter's foot, "the Woman's," the Foretold,
Whose sacred Seed, "The Woman's Seed," through her
Shall bruise the serpent's head, not yet subdues it :
She treads the emblem of an innocent pain :
Transience is not transgression. High in spheres
Whose splendours never wane, the Tree of Life
Stands sole, unshadowed by a duskier mate :
Not yet the Fruit is plucked : not yet God's frown
Makes Eden dark.

I raise mine eyes once more :—
That breeze which onward wafts her sucked the flowers
Which pave the summits of the Hills of God !
The "Hills of God !" He sang them well, that bard¹
Great-hearted, who for love of Christ preferred
The priestly vestment to the Singing Robe ;
Whose monument this day stands consummate :—²
Thus spake he, God's Decrees his arduous theme :

¹ Father Faber.

² The allusion is to the recently opened Church of the London Oratory.

Thus sang he—song severe nor winged by verse—
 "High on the summits of the Hills of God,
 There spreads a table-land immeasurable ;
 Not Seraph's eye can grasp it ; Cherub flight
 O'ersail its nearer verge. Across it moves
 Alone the ordered march of God's Decrees
 From infinite distance on to infinite :
 Their birth-place no man knows." Methinks I see them,
 A cloudy pageant edged and crowned with fire !
 Swiftly they tread that shadowy stage, and wide
 Their out-stretched vans, winnowing the air ! A breath
 Strikes on my brow ; and strains I hear like sighs
 Of seas round coasts far distant.

Child of Heaven !
 The first-born, save thy Son, in those Decrees !
 The Elect, the Immaculate, the Full of Grace
 Which, for that Son's sake, fenced thee from his Foe ;
 Foam-born from seas of sanctity alone ;
 Vested in all the sanctities of God,
 And borné—that six days' work as yet unwrought,—
 Above the heaving crests of things to be,
 A gift predestined, but a gift reserved ;
 Say, must that foot which treads yon waning orb,
 Descend one day to earth ? It will not catch
 Her taint ; but, where it treads, those other Feet
 Will leave ensanguined prints—the Feet of God.

AUBREY DE VERE.

Bournemouth, September, 1884.

Some Intrinsic Evidences of the Gospels' Genuineness.

PART THE SECOND.

WHEREVER the Romans went they endeavoured to carry their laws and customs with them, except in so far as they were against the religious toleration which they extended to all their subjects. That they acted thus, even among the Jews, must be evident to any one who glances at Josephus. In fact it was sometimes a very bitter cause of complaint among the "children of Israel." Let us see if we can find any trace of these laws or customs in the Gospels. There is a very striking example in the words of our Lord given by St Matthew and St Luke: "Make an agreement with thy adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him, lest perhaps he deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Amen I say to thee, thou shalt not go out from thence till thou pay the last farthing."¹ "This precept," says Hug,² "was enjoined in every item with a view to the Roman law *de injuriis* as handed down to us. According to it the complainant with his own hand dragged the accused before the judge, without magisterial summons (*in jus rapit*), yet, at the same time, an agreement (*transactio*) remained open to him on the road, but should this not be made, the mulct assuredly awaited him, which if he did not discharge, he continued to remain in prison until its liquidation."³ The parable⁴ in which the Kingdom of Heaven is likened to a King taking an account

¹ St. Matt. v. 25, 26.

² Hug, *Introduction to New Testament*, vol. i.

³ For the creditor's power over the debtor, according to the Roman law, see Aulus Gellius, B. xx. ch. i. See also Heinec, *Antiquities of Roman Law Illustrated*, B. iv. tit. iv. n. 1. Gellius says that by the laws of the twelve tables the creditor could seize the debtor, fasten him in the stocks, bind him with fetters of fifteen pounds weight, restrict him in his food, &c. Moreover, the debtor's body might be cut in pieces. So also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, xvi. 9; Quintilian, iii. vi. 84. Some interpret the "cutting in pieces" metaphorically of the sale of his person and goods. The authors here mentioned understand it literally.

⁴ St. Matt. xviii. 23, &c.

of his servants exactly illustrates this. The King freely forgives one of them his debt when he asks for time to pay, but the servant going out from his lord's presence, and finding a fellow-servant his debtor, not only has no patience with him, but goes and casts him into prison. This supposes both a Jewish and a Roman law, for it represents a tetrarch, who, as far as himself and his own affairs were concerned, was not under the Roman power. He consequently proceeds according to the old Jewish law, which not only allowed, but ordained the lenient treatment of the debtor; but the sequel, which relates to a common man, contains an appeal to the Roman laws against the *obserati*, in virtue of which the debtor who does not pay is called upon by his creditor (*addicebatur*), who instantly arrests him (*in nervum ducebat*), and detains him in his house, as one handed over to his will. It is in a case like this we should catch the forger tripping. The Jewish or Roman law would be followed throughout. Nothing could suggest a mingling of both, except a personal knowledge of the very special circumstances of the time. Again in Christ's parable⁵ of the nobleman, who, going into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, gave ten pounds to his servants to trade till his return, it is clear that allusion is made to the custom of the Jewish kings or tetrarchs since the time of Herod, of going to Rome to have their sovereignty confirmed. Reference is made here more especially to some recent facts connected with Archelaus. He was a "nobleman," being the son of Herod the Great. He "went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom," for he went to Rome to obtain from Augustus the ratification of his father's will. His citizens hated him, and sent an embassy after him saying, "We will not have this man to rule over us." In this embassy even his own relations joined. "He returned having received the kingdom;" for Augustus confirmed the will as regarded his rule. He took ample revenge upon his enemies, as subsequent events and his exile prove.⁶

But it is to the history the Passion that we of must look in order to grasp thoroughly the wondrous accuracy of the Evangelists, in the narration of incidents, in which Roman and Jewish laws and customs continually appear together, each

⁵ St. Luke xix. 11—27. Compare St. Mark xii. 34; St. Luke xv. 3; St. Matt. xxi. 33.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* B. xvii. ch. ix. *Wars*, B. ii. ch. vi.

having its own force, and its own special application. The event itself, and the time at which it took place, are mentioned by Tacitus, who, when speaking of the Christians, says, "The author of this sect was Christ, who during the reign of Tiberius was punished by the Procurator Pontius Pilate."⁷ Lucian⁸ also alludes to it. And in the Talmud,⁹ we meet with the following words: "On the eve of the Pasch Jesus was punished for having induced the people to embrace a strange religion. . . . They crucified Him." The Gospels say that the wife of Pilate was with her husband in Judea at the time our Lord was condemned. Strauss¹⁰ affirms this to be a clear error, for we know, he says, from history, that the Governors were strictly forbidden to take their wives with them to the place of their government, and Augustus allowed them to visit their husbands only during winter. It is quite true that such a prohibition existed, and was acted up to certainly, during the Commonwealth, as also that Augustus endeavoured to enforce it strictly¹¹ during his reign, but it is equally true that he did not succeed. In the time of Tiberius the contrary custom was introduced. Thus when Augustus died, Germanicus had his wife Agrippina living with him in Germany,¹² and he took her with him to the east, in the beginning of Tiberius' reign.¹³ At the same period we see Plancina, the wife of Piso, Prefect of Syria, accompanying her husband.¹⁴ And in the fourth year of Tiberius, Cæcina proposed to the Senate to forbid all governors to adopt this usage, but the Conscript Fathers refused to hear him.¹⁵ Strauss also draws his pen through that part of the Gospels which mentions the presence of Herod, and the Roman Governor at Jerusalem, during the Passion; because it was unusual for the tetrarchs to be there, and Cæsarea, the seat of the latter's government, he considers, was too distant to allow of his presence at the capital.¹⁶

⁷ *Annals*, B. xvi. ch. xlv.

⁸ *De morte Peregrinorum*.

⁹ Treatise *Sanhedrim*, fol. 43.

¹⁰ *Life of Jesus*.

¹¹ "Disciplinam severissime rexit, ne legatorum quidem cuiquam nisi gravate hibernisque mensibus permisit uxorem invisere" (Suetonius August. 24).

¹² Tacitus, *Annals*, B. i. ch. xl. xli.

¹³ *Ibid.* B. i. ch. liv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ch. lv.

¹⁵ "Inter quæ Severus Cæcina censuit, ne quem magistratum cui provincia obveniret uxor comitaretur. Paucorum hæc adsensu audita plures obturbabant neque relatum de negotio, neque Cæcinam dignum tantæ rei censorem" (Tacitus, *Annals*, B. iii. ch. xxxiii. xxxiv.).

¹⁶ This Cæsarea was on the west coast of Palestine, it was built by Herod the Great, and named *Cæsarea Sebaste* in honour of Augustus. That it was the usual abode of the Procurator is proved from Tacitus, *Hist.* B. ii. ch. lxxix.; Josephus, *Wars*, B. ii. ch. ix. sect. 2; and *Antiq.* B. xviii. ch. iv. sect. 1, and B. xx. ch. iv. sect. 4.

But Josephus¹⁷ draws a special contrast between the Herod in question and others of that name, and tells us expressly that "he sympathized with his countrymen in all their troubles, and *therefore took pleasure in constantly living at Jerusalem*, strictly observing all the customs of his nation." The historian¹⁸ also affirms that the Procurators were constantly in the capital at the Passover. In fact, the great concourse of people to the holy city at that time made their presence there almost a necessity. The insubordinate temper of the Jews at this period was very marked, and it was always most likely to show itself at the great feast. Thus Cumanus stationed an armed cohort in the porticoes of the Temple during the Pasch, to suppress any riot which should take place, "and this the Governors of Judea before him had adopted."¹⁹ On this very occasion a tumult occurred in which twenty thousand Jews perished. This feverish state of the capital at the Passover is alluded to more than once in the Gospels. "But they said, not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people."²⁰ Now if these two events, the fact of Pilate's wife being with her husband, and the presence of Herod and the Governor at Jerusalem, are apparently so unlikely that their explanation escaped Strauss and others, notwithstanding all the knowledge of the time which we now possess, how incredible does it appear, that writers of the second century, if such the Evangelists were, could risk the insertion of such circumstances in their narrative! The Gospel says that the trial of our Lord was the occasion of Pilate and Herod becoming friends, "for before they were enemies one to another."²¹ How easily quarrels might arise between the tetrarch and the procurator must be plain, if on the one hand we remember Pilate's cruel treatment of the Jews, which was notorious, and on the other Herod's love and sympathy for his own people. This particular enmity was most probably occasioned by some such action as that mentioned by St. Luke.²² "And there were present at that very time some that told Him (Christ) of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices," whereby the Roman laid his unholy hands on Herod's subjects.

¹⁷ *Antiq.* B. xix. ch. vii. sect. 3. Compare B. xviii. ch. vi. sect. 3.

¹⁸ *Antiq.* B. xviii. ch. v. sect. 3; *Wars*, B. ii. ch. xii. sect. 6, and ch. xiv. sect. 3.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.* B. xx. ch. iv. sect. 3.

²⁰ St. Matt. xxvi. 5; St. Mark xiv. 2; St. Luke xxii. 2-6.

²¹ St. Luke xxiii. 12.

²² St. Luke xiii. 1.

The speech of Peter betrayed him to those in the court of the High Priest. "And after a little while, they that stood by came, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art one of them, for even thy speech doth discover thee."²³ "Surely this man was also with Him, for he is also a Galilean."²⁴ Now at this period each of the divisions of Palestine had its own provincial dialect. This was especially the case with Galilee, its inhabitants pronouncing the gutturals and other letters in a manner harsh and almost unintelligible to the citizens of the capital.²⁵ Could a forger know, or would he venture on such a circumstance as this? Exception has been taken by some unbelieving critics to what is said about the cock crowing after Peter's denial, on the ground that cocks were not allowed in Jerusalem. It is true they were prohibited, because of some notion which was prevalent, that by rooting up the earth, they might be the cause of spreading disease in the city: but still, they were kept by some of the inhabitants, for, in the Jerusalem Talmud, we have an instance of a cock being stoned to death by an order of the Council, for killing a little child. Again, we may ask, what writer of a later age could know of these exceptions to the general law or custom?

The High Priest, according to the Evangelist, rends his garments, when Christ proclaims that He is the Son of God.²⁶ Josephus, speaking of something which took place about the same time, says, "The High Priests, being filled with concern, rent their garments."²⁷ Pilate takes his place on the judgment-seat only at the sixth hour,²⁸ to pronounce sentence against Christ, although the chief priests and His other accusers have been crying out for His death, since long before dawn. This circumstance represents the Procurator as strictly adhering to the Roman law, by which, all sentences passed before sunrise, were *ipso facto* invalid.²⁹ The word *lithostrotos*, which the Evangelist uses, is a technical term for a place tiled in mosaic, such as a court or terrace, for by the Roman usage, criminals

²³ St. Matt. xxvi. 73.

²⁴ St. Luke xxii. 59.

²⁵ Lightfoot in his works gives many humorous instances of this peculiarity taken from the Rabbinical writings. Amongst other peculiarities, they confounded in pronunciation *A-yîn* with *A-lêph*, *Kâph* with *Bêth*, *Tâv* with *Dâlêth*.

²⁶ St. Matt. xxvi. 65.

²⁷ *Wars*, B. ii. ch. xiv. sect. 6, and ch. xv. sect. 2, 3, 4. It is worth remark that Josephus, like the Evangelists, continually uses the indefinite term "High Priests."

²⁸ Roman civil time, our six o'clock a.m.

²⁹ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 3; Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xiv. 7.

were judged, "*non ex æquo loco sed ex superiori*," and Suetonius³⁰ says, that the Roman magistrates took with them to their provinces, all that was necessary for tiling these places, upon which they placed their seats of judgment. Moreover Josephus³¹ mentions a tiled pavement (*lithostrotos*) of this description, as being in the very place, where Pilate used to judge. Our Lord was scourged, according to the Gospels, before He suffered. The Jewish historian, in two distinct passages,³² and Livy³³ in several, mention the custom among the Romans of scourging before crucifixion, as Edersheim well remarks, in his work on the Life of Christ,³⁴ it was the invariable preliminary to the shame of the cross, and was styled "the intermediate death." Our Saviour was scourged by common soldiers, and the Evangelists make no mention of lictors, who usually administered this punishment. But Suetonius³⁵ says, that it was the custom in some places for soldiers to inflict it; the reason no doubt why they did so in the case before us, was that the Procurator of Palestine, being a subordinate of the Prætor of Syria, had no lictors. Pilate, hearing that Christ was from Galilee, catches at the expression, and inquires, "if He was a Galilean." These people were very rebellious towards the Romans, refusing to pay tribute, and inciting the multitude to follow their principles, and they gave special trouble to Pilate because of their disloyalty.³⁶ The Procurator therefore, coupling the accusation made against our Saviour of "seditious practices" and the fact that He was from Galilee, with his own experience of the Galileans, naturally enough suspects, that Christ may be one of them, and hence his question. With regard to the clothing of our Lord in purple, putting a crown upon His head, and a reed in His hand, we know that such derision was very congenial to the spirit of the age. Philo³⁷ relates that when a nephew of Herod Antipas, Agrippa, was passing through Alexandria on his return from

³⁰ "In expeditionibus tessella ad sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse" (*Cæsar*, ch. xlv.).

³¹ *Wars*, B. vi. ch. i. sect. 8. Compare Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* B. xxxvi. "Lithostrota acceptavere sub Sylla."

³² "Being beaten they were crucified opposite the citadel" (p. 1247). "Whom having first scourged . . . they crucified" (p. 1080).

³³ "Missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis cædunt" (*Hist.* B. ii ch. v.). "Productique omnes virgisque cæsi" (*Hist.* B. xxvi. ch. xv.), &c.

³⁴ London, Longmans, 1883, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols. vol. ii. p. 577.

³⁵ *Caligula*, ch. xxvi.

³⁶ Josephus, *Antiq.* B. xviii. ch. iii. sect. 2, and B. xvii. ch. x. sect. 2.

³⁷ *In Flacc.* ed. Mang. ii. 522. Wetstein, N. T. i. p. 533.

Rome, where he had been made King of Judea by Caligula; the inhabitants, as soon as they heard of his arrival, in hatred of his person and dignity, took a poor idiot, Carabas by name, made him sit on an elevated seat, threw over his shoulders a flowing garment, placed a crown of paper on his head, a reed as sceptre in his hand, and gave him a guard of children, showing how they would treat the Jewish sovereign, were he in their power.

The usage of the criminal carrying his own cross is mentioned by Plutarch³⁸ in these words, "Every kind of wickedness produces its own particular torment, just as every malefactor, when he is brought forth to execution, carries his own cross." The Roman soldiers forcing Simon of Cyrene, the first person they met, to carry the Cross with Christ, is very suggestive of their arrogance towards the Jews, of which many instances are furnished by contemporary history. The position of Calvary is in harmony with the Roman,³⁹ and Jewish⁴⁰ usage, of crucifying or stoning, always outside the city. Pilate affixed to the Cross an inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, for the Romans were wont to prepare some "title" indicating the cause of condemnation, and such inscriptions among the Jews and Romans were at this period written in different languages. "Having led him through the midst of the court or assembly, with a writing signifying the cause of his death, afterwards they crucified him," says Dio Cassius,⁴¹ speaking of a certain criminal. Julius Capitolinus relates, that the Roman soldiers erected a tomb over the Emperor Gordian, on the confines of Persia, and placed an inscription on it, in Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian. The decrees of the Roman Emperors to the towns of Phenicia were in Latin and Greek. "There are three languages," said the Jews, "Hebrew for prayer, Latin for war, and Greek for eloquence and conversation."⁴²

³⁸ *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, ch. ix. Compare Artemidor, *Oneirocrit.*, ii. 61.

³⁹ "Credo ego istoc exemplo tibi esse eundem actutum extra portam, dispersis manibus patibulum cum habebis" (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, act ii. sc. 4). "Quum interim imperator provincie latrones jussit crucibus adfigi, secundum illam eandem casulam in qua recens cadaver matrona deflebat" (Petronius Arbiter, *Satir.*, c. lxxi.). "Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeia: te jubere in ea parte figere, quæ ad fretum spectaret?" Cic. in Verr, lib. v. c. lxvi. The whole trial of our Lord can be well illustrated from these orations.

⁴⁰ Num. xv. 35; 3 Kings xxi. 13.

⁴¹ B. liv. Compare Suet. *Domitian*, ch. x. and *Caligula*, ch. xxxii. and xxxiv.; Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 190, 191, and *Trist.*, iii. 1047.

⁴² Sepp. *Vie de J. C.* vii. See also Josephus, *Wars*, B. vi. ch. 2.

The wine mingled with myrrh being given to our Lord is confirmed by the custom of this drink being used to produce insensibility to suffering.⁴³ Vinegar too was the common beverage of the Roman soldier,⁴⁴ and so St. John⁴⁵ says that when Christ said, "I thirst," "they, putting a sponge full of vinegar about hyssop, offered it to His mouth," for "there was a vessel set there full of vinegar." The soldiers, according to the Evangelist, kept watch by the Cross; Petronius Arbiter⁴⁶ tells us, *Miles cruces asservabat*, and Seneca⁴⁷ speaks of the *centurio supplicio prepositus* as an ordinary thing.

The game of dice was a common one with the Roman soldiers, and so they play at it beneath the Cross, the stake being the seamless garment of Christ. "They said then one to another, Let us not cut it; but let us cast lots for it whose it shall be."⁴⁸ "Then the soldiers . . . took His garments, and they made four parts, to every soldier a part." We have two particulars here; the division of the garments, confirmed by the fact that the clothes of the executed were by law the perquisites of the executioners,⁴⁹ which custom was abrogated in the time of Adrian; and the number of the soldiers, which was four, for "they made four parts, to every soldier a part," which is confirmed by Polybius, who tells us that a guard was composed of four. "Joseph of Arimathea besought Pilate," says St. John,⁵⁰ "that he might take away the Body of Jesus, and Pilate permitted him." Now, the Roman lawyer Ulpian⁵¹ says, "the bodies of those condemned are not to be refused to their relations," and Augustus⁵² declares he had ever observed this custom. "The bodies of those punished," according to Paulus,⁵³ another Roman lawyer, "are to be given to any that desire them in order to burial." "At the request of the Jews, Pilate gave orders that the legs of the crucified should be broken." Aurelius Victor,⁵⁴ in praising Constantine for doing away with the death of the cross, alludes to this barbarous custom. "Eo pius ut etiam vetus veterrimumque supplicium, patibulum cruribus suffringendis primus removerit." When Christ has died,

⁴³ "Sese multis modis consentiat ictibus, myrrhæ contra præsumptione munitus" (Apuleius, *Metamorph.* B. viii.). "Obfirmatus myrrhæ præsumptione" (*Ibid.* B. x.).

⁴⁴ Dr. Huxham's *Essay on Fevers*.

⁴⁵ St. John xix. 29, 30.

⁴⁶ Ch. iii.

⁴⁷ *De Ira*, ch. xvi.

⁴⁸ St. John xix. 24.

⁴⁹ Alford, vol. i. and Digest xlviii. tit. xx. sect. 6.

⁵⁰ St. John xix. 38.

⁵¹ Treatise on the Duties of a Proconsul (see Josephus, *Wars*, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 2).

⁵² *Vita*, ch. x.

⁵³ B. iii.

⁵⁴ *Cæs.* ch. xli.

Nicodemus comes "bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pound,"⁵⁵ which are used in the burial, after the manner of the Jews. Josephus⁵⁶ mentions the custom, nor need we wonder at the amount, when we remember that the whole body was embalmed; and the historian speaks in one place of five hundred servants following their master's funeral with aromatic spices.⁵⁷ Many of the circumstances of the Crucifixion, are mentioned in the *Gemara Sanhedrin*, among them being the sword-thrust, and the taking down before sunset. We find also in the rabbinical writings several more or less obscure allusions to the events which the Evangelists say took place at the death of our Lord. Thus in the treatise *Joma* it is related, that about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, (which corresponds very well with the date of the Crucifixion) the lamp in the Temple was suddenly put out, the "lot of the Lord"⁵⁸ fell always to the left, and a great door of the sacred edifice, which was carefully shut each evening, and which required twenty men to move it, was found wide open each morning. This phenomenon began on the day after Christ's execution. Josephus also mentions it, but he does not give the precise date, as the Talmud does.

Such is the accuracy of the Gospels in their minute relation of the circumstances of the sufferings and death of Christ, in which Roman and Jewish usages are combined in the most delicate and complicated way. On what principle is this exactness to be explained? Surely books which speak the truth like this are genuine, or if not, we must cast away for ever all value which we have hitherto given to historical works, be they ancient or modern. One more instance, and we have done. "Herod the tetrarch," say the Evangelists,⁵⁹ "put St. John Baptist in prison for the sake of Herodias, the wife of Philip his brother, because he had married her. For St. John said to the King, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife. Now when a convenient day was come, Herod made a supper for his birthday for the princes and tribunes and chief men of Galilee. And when the daughter of the same Herodias had come in and danced and pleased Herod . . . the King said to the damsel, Ask of me what thou wilt and I will give it thee. And he swore to her, Whatsoever thou shalt ask I will give

⁵⁵ St. John xix. 39, 40.

⁵⁶ *Wars*, B. i. ch. xxxiii. sect. 9; *Antiq.* B. xvii. ch. viii. sect. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ An emblem of some superstition of the time.

⁵⁹ St. Matt. xiv. 1-13; St. Mark vi. 14-29; St. Luke iii. 19, 20.

thee, though it be the half of my kingdom. And when she was gone out she said to her mother, What shall I ask? But she said, the head of John the Baptist. And she came to the King . . . and asked, saying, I will that forthwith thou give me in a dish the head of the Baptist. And the King was struck sad, yet because of his oath he would not displease her, but sending an executioner he commanded that the head should be brought in a dish. And he beheaded him . . . and brought his head in a dish and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother." Let us compare this little episode with what we know from profane history. The incestuous union of the tetrarch with Herodias is thus mentioned by Josephus. "After Salome's birth, Herodias, in utter violation of the laws of her country, left her husband, then living, and married Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, her husband's brother by the mother's side."⁶⁰ In this passage we learn that Herodias had a daughter, and her name is given to us. Such was the damsel that danced before, and pleased the King. Herod made a supper on his birthday. Is there not some slip here? Jewish writers affirm that such feasts were not the custom in their nation, which regarded all personal anniversary celebrations⁶¹ as acts of idolatrous worship. Nevertheless the Evangelist is correct, for the family of the Herods was very partial to the customs of Greece and Rome, which they tried to introduce, to the great disgust of the Jews.⁶² More than this. An exactly similar occurrence about this time is mentioned by the Jewish historian,⁶³ who says of Herod, the brother of Herodias, and successor to Herod the tetrarch, "Having made a feast on his birthday, when all under his command partook of the mirth, he sent for Silas, an officer who had displeased him, and offered him a seat at the banquet." Here we have not only the feast, but the custom of assembling the officers of government to share in it, which corresponds admirably with the words of the Gospel, "the princes and tribunes and chief men of Galilee" were there. What impostor could be aware of this family practice of the Herods? We have the same thing in the matter of the dancing, which was originally taken from the Greeks, and according to Suetonius⁶⁴ was very much in vogue among the Romans.

⁶⁰ *Antiq. B.* xviii. ch. vi. sect. 1-4.

⁶¹ *Illustrated Commentary on Bible*—St. Matthew, ch. xiv.

⁶² *Ibid.* ⁶³ *Antiq. B.* xix. ch. vii. sect. 1.

⁶⁴ *Caligula*, ch. lvii.; *Nero*, ch. xxiv. See also *Athen. Deipnosoph.* B. xvii.; and Lipsius, *Supra Senect.* Quest. Nat. i. 7.

Among the Jewish princes these dances became a usage, and festivals always ended with them. As regards Herod's oath and his sadness at having to keep it, the form of swearing employed was a common one at the time,⁶⁵ and once made, the promise could not be broken. We meet with a remarkable anecdote in Herodotus,⁶⁶ which offers some strong points of analogy with the incident now before us. Xerxes once, in excess of fondness for his brother's wife's daughter Artaynte, desired her to ask of him whatever she pleased, and declared with an oath that he would refuse her nothing. Artaynte demanded a rich mantle wrought by his own Queen, which he was then wearing. Xerxes was saddened at this request, and begged her to ask cities, treasures of gold, or the sole command of an army, but not the mantle. The damsel persisted, and the monarch, from regard to his oath, but with great reluctance, gave it her. The Queen, enraged at this, blamed not the girl, but her mother, and on the King's birthday, when he was bound not to refuse her any request she made, the Queen came before him at the royal banquet, and asked that the wife of his brother should be delivered up to her. In vain the King tried to divert her from this horrid purpose, he had to give the fatal nod of assent, and the doomed woman was at once brought to her, and mangled by her in the most terrible manner. The points of comparison between this history and that of the Gospels are obvious. Herodias, according to the Evangelists, prompts her daughter to make the cruel request. This woman is represented by Josephus as full of intrigue, and exercising a great influence over Herod. The tetrarch,⁶⁷ he says, "was punished by God for following her vain counsels; for, when Caligula gave her own brother the title of King, she persuaded Herod against his will to ask for the same honour. The Emperor not only did not grant his prayer, but took from him his tetrarchy, and banished him to Lyons." The saintly Baptist incurred her hatred by reproving her incest, and hence her revenge. The Evangelist says that Herod sent as the executioner of the Baptist a soldier from about his person, and we know that at this time the King's guards only were charged with carrying out such sentences. The "bringing in of the head" was of frequent occurrence at

⁶⁵ *Illust. Commentary on Bible*—St. Matthew.

⁶⁶ B. ix. 109. Compare also Pliny, *Epist.* B. x. Ep. 61, and *The Thousand and One Nights*.

⁶⁷ *Antiq.* B. xxviii. ch. viii. sect. 2.

this period. Agrippina, wife of Claudius and mother of Nero, had Paulina Lollia's head brought to her, and Dio Cassius⁶⁸ says, that not recognizing it at first, she examined it with her own hands until she perceived some distinguishing feature. Antony too, caused the heads of his victims to be brought to him during his banquets, and Fulvia⁶⁹ took Cicero's head upon her lap to pierce the tongue. We have also the order of Tiberius to Vitellius to send him the head of King Aretas.⁷⁰ Here, as elsewhere in the Gospels, rulers like the tetrarch Herod, who never took the title of kings, are called by that name. The same phraseology occurs in Josephus,⁷¹ which shows that it belonged to the time. Here is another coincidence not easy to imagine in an impostor. Besides the testimonies we have given in detail, Josephus⁷² makes direct allusion to the death of the Baptist, saying that the Jews considered the defeat, which Herod sustained in the war with the Arabs, to be a punishment from God for his great crime in committing this murder.

To conclude. In weighing this intrinsic evidence we must ever bear in mind that the force of the argument is cumulative. Some of the instances may not be much in themselves, but when taken together with others, their strength is undeniable. Nor must we forget that the Gospels are not, and do not profess to be, complete histories.⁷³ They are merely detached memoirs, or a collection of select facts or discourses, solely put together to show the character and teaching of the Redeemer. Sometimes the Evangelists repeat each other, sometimes they choose different events and different discourses, which are all equally appropriate for the object in view, as would undoubtedly have been many others, of which we find no record. We have refrained as much as possible from introducing minor illustrations save where they went to form part of a proof, as they belong rather to the scope of the commentator.⁷⁴ But we have

⁶⁸ B. lx. ch. xxxiii.

⁶⁹ Dio Cassius, B. xlvii. ch. ix.

⁷⁰ Josephus, *Antiq.* B. xviii. ch. v.

⁷¹ *Wars*, B. v. ch. i. sect. 2, and elsewhere.

⁷² *Antiq.* B. xviii. ch. v.

⁷³ The Evangelists say so themselves either expressly, as John xx. 30, 31; xxi. 25, or indirectly by their method of narration.

⁷⁴ We have left unnoticed such signs of accuracy, as appear in the several parables, in which the most varied customs are exactly described. As in that of "The Unjust Steward," which should be compared with what we learn from Suetonius, *Augustus*, lxvii. 4; *Nero*, lxiv. 2; *Galba*, xxii. 6; *Vespasian*, xxii. 5. See also Cato, *De Re Rustica*, v. 56-59; Columella, *De Re Rustica*, i. 8, 9, xi. 1;

seen in detail the marvellous accuracy of the sacred writers in their passing allusions to the history of Judea and the civil status of the Jews, at a time when they embraced the President of Syria, a local governor, tetrarchs, and high priests, all having certain rights, certain duties, and a fixed authority, when there was a double administration of justice, and in some degree a double military command. We have closely examined some parts of the Gospel story, wherein are embodied at one and the same time many customs and laws of Judea and of Rome, and everywhere we have found the most scrupulous and painstaking exactness. Nor can it be said, with any show of truth, that the

Xenophon, *Æconomica*, xii. sect. 5, 6, xiii. sect. 3, xiv. sect. 2. Again the Parable of "The Good Shepherd" may be compared with Polybius, xii. iv. 2; and that of "The Great Supper" with Philo, i. 18, l. 19, *De Mundi Opificio*; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 34; Lucian, i. 669, *De Mercede conductis*, 14; Suetonius, *Caius*, 39, 3; Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 37; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 17, xxxv. 36; Nepos, *Cimon*, c. iv.; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 12, *Cæsar*, 55, in which we find many of the smallest details confirmed. In the story of "the Labourers in the Vineyard" such minor points as the late comers receiving the same wages as those who had borne the heat of the day, are made clear from Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. ix. 7, where we are told the same thing took place, at the rebuilding of the temple. "The Sower and the Seed" is well illustrated and explained by reference to Calpurnius, *Eclog.* iv. 115; Xenophon, *Æcon.* xvii. 14; Herodotus, B. ii. 12; Theophrastus, *De Caus. Plant.* iii.; Josephus, *Antiq.* v. i. 21; *Wars*, iii. iv. viii., and so of the rest. The parables also correspond most exactly with the customs mentioned in the Old Testament. Once more, we find allusions, St. Luke xii. 38, St. Matt. xiv. 25, St. Mark xiii. 35, to the four watches of the night. This was introduced among the Jews by the Romans, who took it from the Greeks. The words of the Centurion, St. Luke vii. 8, "I say to one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh;" remind us of the strict obedience of the Roman soldiers. Our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem represents in every point the Roman manner of besieging and taking cities. They are first surrounded, a dry deep trench is then dug, and the town is encompassed with walls to prevent escape, and destroy the inhabitants by famine. Compare Josephus, *Wars*, vii. &c., to see how the event corresponded with the prediction. The great value set on pearls in ancient times, of which Pliny says, "Principium culmenque omnium rerum pretii margaritæ tenent," explains well the beautiful parable given in St. Matt. xiii. 45, 46. Lastly, we have the allusion to Jerusalem as the City of Peace, which its name implied, St. Luke xix. 41; the term, "The Captain of the Temple," St. John xviii. 12, mentioned also by Josephus; the custom of the Jews to shake the dust of Gentile lands off their feet, St. Matt. x. 14; the distinction between the land of Israel and that of the Gentiles, St. Matt. vi. 32; the ointment kept in *alabaster* boxes, St. Matt. xxvi. 7, confirmed by Pliny and Theophrastus; how swine came to feed among the Gadarenes, because, as Josephus says, *Antiq.* xvii. 13, 4, "Gadara was a Grecian city and annexed by Cæsar to Syria"—it did not therefore belong to the Jews;—the meaning conveyed in the number of the Apostles being *twelve*, and that of the disciples *seventy-two*, which were favourite numbers with the Jews as representing those of the tribes and elders (see Josephus, *Life*, sect. ii.); and numberless other instances, none of which have come within the scope of this paper. We have given these few examples for the benefit of those of our readers who may be tempted to take an interest in their investigation. Many others may be found in Thompson's *The Land and the Book*, and like works.

Evangelists could have gathered such knowledge from profane history, for it is not a question of books in which a list of rulers and laws is merely strung together without connection and without aim ; but of a part biography, where each event is given with all its particulars, as happening in real life, and where all is worked into the history. Besides, it is only after more than eighteen centuries of the closest study and research, that we have arrived at the knowledge of those times which we now possess, being often helped thereto by a chance remark in the works of some writer of the time, which we should never have noticed but for the criticism of the Gospels. It is thus we have been led to recognize fully the accuracy of the Evangelists, by scrutinizing those parts of their writings which naturally, they would have thought, could least of all, have engaged the attention of mankind.

ARTHUR J. YATES.

Gloves.¹

SOME of us may perchance have amused ourselves, while sauntering about the villages in the neighbourhood of Worcester—the principal glove manufacturing town in England—by watching the women at their cottage doors plying their task as glove sewers, sometimes with and sometimes without the aid of machinery; we may have inquired as to the amount of time required to finish a pair, and expressed our surprise as to the smallness of the sum an industrious worker can earn per diem by stitching or sewing for Messrs. Dent and Allcroft, whose agents bring the cut-out gloves to the villagers, and fetch them away when made up. And here—unless we care for statistics as to the numbers of pairs of gloves exported and imported during the course of the year, and when the introduction of free trade put an end to the privileges and monopolies of the glover's corporations—our interest in gloves seems to be at end, since, in the present day and in their present form, they are nothing more than a simple article of dress—one, too, which is more a superfluity than an absolute necessity—and there seems to be little meaning or interest attaching to them, still less any romance or sentiment.

But let us look back into the past, and we shall see gloves in a very different light. They will be found to occupy a prominent place in the pages of the poet and historian, in the records of the antiquarian and archæologist. The jewelled gloves of monarchs and other persons of rank are exhibited in museums, and carefully preserved in private collections. The mailed gloves of the Black Prince hang above his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, and the recumbent figures of kings and prelates wear gloves upon the hands which are folded in death. It is only quite recently that throwing down the gauntlet has been abolished from our coronation ceremony, and a relic of the

¹ *Gloves: their Annals and Associations.* By S. W. Beck, F.H.R.S. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 32, Paternoster Row. 1883.

past still lingers in the custom of presenting white gloves to a judge when the absence of crime renders his presence at the assizes unnecessary. This now most common article of every-day wear was once expressive of facts and feelings; it was employed as an authorization and a warranty; a pledge of security or a token of affection; a symbol of defiance or a sign of amity.

The great antiquity of the *tegumenta manuum* is beyond dispute; their use probably originated in the necessity of protecting the hands from the inclemency of the weather, and from injury when handling rough substances. Witness the rude gloves of walrus-skin made by the Eskimos as an indispensable part of their uncouth habiliments, and the hedging and harvesting gloves used by agricultural labourers in the present day, as well as the long hawking-gloves worn by our ancestors to prevent the sharp talons of the falcons they carried on their wrist from penetrating the flesh. Homer, in the *Odyssey*, describes Laertes as wearing "gloves against the thorn," and Xenophon animadverts upon the luxury of the Persians, in that they were not content with covering their heads, their bodies, and their feet, but must needs clothe their hands also. Gloves were certainly well known among the Romans. Pliny the Younger, in the account of his uncle's visit to Vesuvius, mentions that the amanuensis accompanying him wore gloves upon his hands in winter, lest the severity of the cold should prevent him from making use of his writing implements.² But the chief gloves in use among the ancients seem to have been those of the pugilist, which are mentioned in the *Iliad*, when great Tydides,

Warmed with the hopes of conquest for his friend,
 Officious with the cincture girds him round,
 And on his wrists the gloves of death are bound.

They are also frequently referred to in the *Æneid*. No athlete ventures to

Round his hands the gauntlets tie,

as a sign that he will enter the lists with Dares the Trojan, and when Entellus at last comes forward, it is said,

Then on the ground, in open view,
 Two gloves of giant weight he threw.

The gauntlets used in these deadly combats were probably formed of leather weighted with lead or iron, something like

² Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 5.

the iron gloves of the armour-clad warriors of the days of hand-to-hand fighting, which were covered with scales or plates of iron, with knobs or spikes attached to do more injury.

But gloves soon grew to be a mark of refinement and a means of display, for we find them worn equally in hot climates, and by those who, far from engaging in hard work, lived in the lap of luxury, and wore long sleeves, which if drawn down over the hands would have afforded all the protection necessary. As the ancient severity of manners declined amongst the Romans the use of gloves increased, and the philosophers of the day directed against them some of the invectives they hurled against the corruption of the times. Under the Emperors gloves were made with fingers, and called *digitalia*, in contradistinction to the *chirothecæ*, which were then made more in the shape of a mitten. Undoubtedly this latter was the original form, and the mitten remained an article of common, practical use, while gloves became things of ornament or ceremony. This accounts for the name of the foxglove, *little folks'*, or *fairies'* glove, for although utterly unlike the ordinary glove, it will, when held upside down, be seen to resemble a mitten exactly in shape. The Romans very probably introduced gloves into this country, at any rate they formed part of the Anglo-Saxon's dress, being mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon romance respecting Beowulf, written in the seventh century; and in the commercial regulations made by Ethelred the Unready, five pairs of gloves are a portion of the duty to be paid by some German merchants. In paintings and drawings, too, dating from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, some of the figures are represented with gloved hands, although the capacious sleeve worn at that period rendered any such covering unnecessary. Towards the close of the eighth century we find it recorded that Charlemagne granted to the monks of a certain monastery the right to kill deer, and employ the skins of the animals to make gloves, girdles, and covers for their books, although sheepskin was the material³ prescribed for the gloves monks were allowed to wear in winter for the sake of warmth. No one was, however, permitted to appear in choir to say the Office with any kind of glove or muff, as the following regulation shows: *Chirothecas non ferant cum superpelliceo*.³

The gloves which form part of the episcopal vestments were formerly made of white linen, to denote the purity of the hands.

³ Synod Nucerim, 1606.

they covered. Durandus, writing in 1287, remarks that the *chirothecæ* were of a white material, because a bishop should be stainless, and we read in Pugin's *Ecc. Glossary* that the gloves on the hands of 'Pope Boniface the Eighth at the time of his interment were of white silk, beautifully worked and ornamented with pearls. Bishops' gloves are now of a lavender tint, and fringed with gold. In the *Ordo Romanus* a prayer is appointed to be said when the Bishop puts on the gloves,⁴ and in ancient missals collects to the same effect are given for the use of a bishop when vesting for Mass. Professor Hefele supposes that the *ἐπιμανίκια* of the 'Greek and Russian priests, which extend from the wrist to the elbow, bear some relation to the *chirothecæ* of the Catholic bishop. The gloves worn by William of Wykeham are still preserved at New College, Oxford, and specimens of the lavishly decorated gloves worn by prelates may be seen in their monumental effigies.

Not only were gloves considered from the earliest ages as belonging to the Pontifical habit, but they were also considered as an inseparable appanage of Royalty, an ensign of Imperial dignity, no more to be omitted at the coronation of a king than at the consecration of a Bishop. Consequently they were invariably placed on the hands of monarchs when they were attired for the last time in their royal robes previous to their interment. In corroboration of this we have the testimony of illuminations in medieval missals, as well as of the effigies placed upon their tombs, generally a faithful representation in such details of the body deposited in peace below. And when the tombs of Royal personages have been opened (as was the case with the stone sarcophagus of Edward the First opened in 1774), even if the action of time has removed all trace of the material of the glove, probably something perishable such as linen, the circle of gold or jewels which ornamented the centre of the back of the hand, and was a mark of royal or high ecclesiastical rank, is found still lying there. Gloves such as these were often valuable enough to be left as legacies. Those worn by Richard, Bishop of London, who died in 1303, were valued at £5, no inconsiderable sum in that day, and ancient records often enumerate amongst regal and ecclesiastical treasures *chirothecæ cum perlis et gemmis in plata quadrata* . . .

⁴ "Immensam clementiam tuam rogamus, omnipotens et piissime Deus ut manus istius famuli tui patris nostri sicut externis obducuntur manicis istis sic internis purgentur rore tue benedictionis."

cum tassellis argenteis et parvis lapidibus, &c. Even gloves in ordinary wear soon came to be no longer made of homely materials, leather or buckskin, like those belonging to Henry the Sixth, of which an engraving is given in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, and which cost four shillings the dozen pairs, but were extremely gorgeous, though inelegant in shape, being made of thin material, lined with velvet, the "tops" white silk or crimson satin, trimmed with gold or silver lace, with fringe or pendant spangles, with "taffata and reben," or decorated with elaborate embroidery in coloured silks and gold thread. The needlework upon the cuffs of gloves—to judge by the specimens still preserved—was most beautiful both in design and execution.

For a long time, until the thirteenth or fourteenth century in fact, the use of gloves seems to have been almost exclusively confined to men. Perhaps this was because they were either insignia of office, or were worn as a protection against weather, at work, and in warfare. The women of former days did not go abroad much, nor did they aspire to share in masculine employments and amusements. Even among ladies of rank the use of gloves did not become universal, it appears, until the era of Elizabeth, who encouraged everything which promoted the vanity of her sex. She was particularly fond of perfumed gloves, which had recently been introduced, those made in Spain being famous for the specially sweet and enduring character of the scent imparted to them by means of fragrant herbs and distilled oils. At any rate her wardrobe must have been as well stocked with gloves as with gowns, since wherever she went she had presented to her "a paire of swete gloves, cuffed with gold and silver," "a paire of perfumed gloves," and so on. The *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* records as gifts:

By the Lady Mary Grey ij peir of swete gloves with fower dozen buttons of golde, in every one a side perle.

By Lady Mary Sydney, one peir of perfumed gloves with xxiii small buttons of golde, in every one of them a small diamond, &c.

Shakespeare writes of "gloves as sweet as damask roses," and in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Hero says to Beatrice:

These gloves the Count sent me, they are an excellent perfume.

Every one knows how vain Elizabeth was of her hands. Du Maurier says in his *Mémoires* how, "having been sent to her,

at every audience he had with her Majesty, she pulled off her gloves more than a hundred times to display her hands, which indeed were very beautiful and very white." The fit of the glove seems then to have been considered of no importance; even when of fine workmanship they were of such liberal dimensions, and to modern ideas so unshapely, that they could only have disfigured the hand they covered. Probably the custom of measuring for gloves, the practice of Simon Glover,⁵ was not then in fashion, the beauty of the glove and the delicacy of the material employed being alone regarded. A very interesting relic of Mary Queen of Scots is preserved in the Saffron Walden Museum, viz., a splendid glove presented by her on the morning of her execution to a gentleman of the Dayrell family, in whose possession it now remains. It is thus described:

The glove is made of a light buff-coloured leather, the elaborate embroidery on the gauntlet being worked with silver wire and silk of various colours. The roses are of pale and dark blue, and two shades of very pale crimson. The foliage represents trees, and is composed of two shades of æsthetic green. A bird in flight with a long tail figures conspicuously among the work. . . . That part of the glove which forms the gauntlet is lined with crimson satin, which is as fresh and bright as the day it was made, a narrow band being turned outwards as a binding to the gauntlet, on to which is sewn the gold fringe or lace, on the points of which are fastened groups of small pendant steel or silver spangles. The opening at the side of the gauntlet is connected by two broad bands of crimson silk, faded now almost to a pale pink, and each hand is decorated with pieces of tarnished silver lace on each side.

A somewhat different article of apparel this to the iron glove which left a mark on the wrist of the unhappy Queen, when she was compelled by its cruel grasp to sign Rizzio's death-warrant.

Patronized so extensively by Elizabeth, gloves soon became common to all classes and conditions of men, and formed a considerable item in the household book of expenses. Old records still extant show entries such as these—

Paied to Jacson the hardwareman, for a dousin and a halfe of Spanysshe gloves 7s. 6d.

Six pair of plain gloves with coloured tops, vjs.

1520. Pd. for vj payer of gloves for my master . . . ijs. viijd.

Itm. for a payer of hedgying gloves for ye carter iiijd.

Itm. pd. for a payer of gloves bought at ye feyer (Ely) jd.

⁵ *Fair Maid of Perth.*

An amusing record in the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1580, shows that gloves were expected to correspond with the character of the wearer—

Owen Lloyd to Wm. Pryse—Desires him to send 16 pair of Oxford gloves of the finest, of 5 or 6 groats a pair, of double Chevrell, 6 for women, 6 for men, and 4 for very ancient and grave men, spiritual.

In the end of the sixteenth century, "gloves knytte of sylke" are mentioned as an article of trade imported from Holland. The greatest refinement in the way of material seems to have been chicken-skin, which was thought to impart a peculiar delicacy to the hand, especially if worn by night. This effeminate practice of sleeping in gloves was not confined to women, being introduced by Henry the Third of France, and followed by men as late as the reign of George the Third. Another and less innocent abuse of what was originally an useful article of dress is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott, who tells us, as an instance of the extent to which the science of poisoning was carried on the Continent in the Middle Ages, that diabolical cunning invented gloves which could not be put on without inflicting a mortal disease on the wearer. It is, however, doubtful whether authentic proof can be found of any one being killed in this manner.

But enough has been said with respect to the history and material of gloves. We will now say a few words about the significance formerly attaching to them, and of which a few traces still linger, in some familiar form of speech, or popular proverb, some fast-disappearing formality, or the custom of taking off the gloves on certain occasions as a token of respect.

From time immemorial, throwing down the gauntlet has been a symbol of defiance, a challenge to battle both in real contests and in the mimic warfare of tournaments. Virgil, in the Fifth Book of the *Æneid*, as we have seen, represents Entellus as casting a gauntlet on the ground before entering the lists with Dares. In the Middle Ages, when the leaders of opposing armies challenged each other to single combat, a herald bearing a glove was sent with the message. Shakspeare makes Henry the Fifth, when he engages under an incognito in a wordy dispute with one of his soldiers on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, exchange gloves with him as a proof that if they both survive the battle, the quarrel shall be settled with blows. Amongst the Highlanders the custom of employing

the glove as a sign of challenge given or vengeance to be taken, lingered long. "Did one of them break faith? The surest remedy was for the injured person to appear at the next meeting-place, bearing a glove on the point of a lance, and proclaim the perfidy. The symbol roused so keen a sense of right, so fervently appealed to their rough justice, that the offender was often slain by his own clan to wipe out the disgrace brought upon them." To bite the glove was the sure prelude of a quarrel—

Stern Rutherford right little said,
But bit his glove and shook his head.

writes Scott in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, adding in a note—

It is yet remembered that a young gentleman of Teviotdale, on the morning after a hard drinking-bout, observed that he had bitten his glove. He instantly demanded of his companion with whom he had quarrelled, and learning that he had had words with one of the party, insisted on instant satisfaction, asserting that though he remembered nothing of the dispute, yet he was sure he never would have bit his glove unless he had received some unpardonable insult. He fell in the duel, which was fought near Selkirk, in 1721.

In contrast to the employment of gloves as tokens of hostility, we have now to consider some of the circumstances under which they figured as messengers of goodwill, as signs of protection or friendship.

In early times tenure of lands was granted and investiture conferred by the delivery of a glove. A register of the Parliament of Paris, dated 1294, says that "The Earl of Flanders, by the delivery of a glove into the hands of the King, gave him possession of the good town of Flanders." It is even supposed by some that this manner of confirming a contract dates as far back as the times of the Judges of Israel, and that when Elimelech in transferring his land to Booz takes off his shoe, the word ought to be translated *glove*.⁶ Be this as it may, the custom seems to have come originally from the East. In feudal times, the glove entered largely into transactions connected with the tenure and transfer of property, and gloves formed a part of the rent paid for land. The manor of Elston, in Nottinghamshire, was held by the annual payment of one pound of cummin seed, a steel needle, and two pairs of gloves, a rent which we imagine the landlord's greatest enemy would not

⁶ See Ruth iv. 7, 8.

object to pay. The King sent his glove when he relegated his authority to others, or gave his consent to the holding of a fair, or setting up a market. Until quite recently it was customary to display a large glove, brightly coloured or gilded, at the entrance to the annual fair in some country towns. In *Timon of Athens* the senators ask a glove of Alcibiades before tendering their submission, and he gives it in pledge of his protection.

Thus the glove came to be at one time "a sign of irrefragable faith," as Jonathan Oldbuck terms it; in fact, it was not unfrequently sworn upon, as if it were a relic or some holy thing. Witness Slender's affirmation to Pistol's guilt, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*—

By these gloves, then, 'twas he.

Biron, too, in *Love's Labour lost*, takes an oath on "this white glove."

When a gift of lands or other property was made to the Church, a glove was often placed upon the altar to make the promise binding; for instance, when the Earl of Shrewsbury vowed the construction of an abbey to St. Peter in 1083, in token of his intent, he placed his glove on the altar of the monastery there.⁷ Lovers exchanged gloves as a pledge of mutual fidelity, and gloves, or before these were worn by ladies, the sleeve which formed their substitute, often figure as the favours worn by knights upon their helmets in a tourney. The lily maid of Astolat brought Sir Lancelot

A scarlet sleeve broidered with great pearls

when he consented to wear her favour in the lists at Camelot.

One or more pairs of gloves used to be a recognized present from retainers and servants upon New Year's Day, for which they were liberally rewarded with money, as the records in old household books testify. They were also a medium of bribery, being presented to judges to obtain a favourable decision. Sir Thomas More is well known to have refused the lining—consisting of forty gold pieces—of a pair of gloves presented to him by a grateful suitor who had won her cause before him. All judges were not equally virtuous, otherwise the Portuguese proverb would have no force; *he does not wear gloves* being expressive of a man's perfect integrity.

The fashion of making presents of gloves was for a long time universal on all occasions and in all relations of life, by

⁷ Dugdale, *Monasticon*.

private individuals and public bodies, the value of the gloves having a wide range, and being proportioned to the rank of the recipient. In this the Universities stand out as pre-eminent. Any notable personage or royal visitor was welcomed with a present of "some verie rich and gorgeous gloves." Sometimes the chancellor and the heads of houses, hearing that persons of consequence were in the neighbourhood, would go out to meet them in order to offer this gift. Professor Thorold Rogers has met with many instances among the muniments of Colleges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of gifts of costly gloves, presumably not seldom *lined* after the manner objected to by Sir Thomas More. This practice of presenting gloves to distinguished visitors by the Universities or Colleges is said to have been intended to indicate that they considered their guests worthy to remain with covered hands, even in the presence of the highest collegiate dignitaries, although the etiquette of that period required "one who would be courteous" to "do off his hood, his gloves also," in the presence of a superior or on entering a house.

Any of our readers who may wish to know more about the trade in gloves and their manufacture from the earliest times up to the present day, in our own country and in other lands, will find ample information on this subject, as well as many interesting details as to their use in by-gone days, in Mr. Beck's little book. It is on our own authority that we add one more fact, viz., that French tradition asserts St. Anne to have been a knitter of gloves; she is therefore the chosen patroness of glovers in that country, and her day is, or rather was, kept with special solemnity by all engaged in that craft. The glovers of Perth had St. Bartholomew for their patron; the reason of this is apparent when we remember that the skimmers were associated with the glovers in that great Scotch corporation.

ELLIS SCHREIBER.

A Co-operative Farm in Ireland fifty years ago.

THE principle of co-operation has so largely extended itself to nearly every department of human industry, and its adoption, under the encouraging legislative aids now sanctioning the practice, has been attended by such satisfactory results, that an extension and development in the particular direction of agriculture seems but a question of time and education. In the idea of corporate organization and federated labour much that is useful to the interests of society is involved and concerned. Since Owen, the first practical teacher of the doctrine, advocated it, co-operation has made vast and surprising progress in every country of Europe. It has embraced every branch of human enterprise with results highly favourable and satisfactory. The famous Swiss cheeses and the outputs of many Cornish mines are the consequences of co-operative labour. In Paris we had had instances of the most advantageous combinations among the workmen of that city, notably in the printing, masonry, house-building, and piano-making trades. Le Claire, its earliest apostle in France, with the frequent disturbances that at first continually upset his business and unsettled his workmen, found it a losing undertaking to endeavour to carry on the precarious pursuit of a building-contractor, and was going to abandon the enterprise when the thought occurred to him of continuing it upon the new idea of a proportional association and division of profits between his men and himself—he being allowed the highest wages of superintendence and a heavy interest on any capital he invested, *les ouvriers*, on their part, becoming partners in the nett earnings. All previous difficulties vanished—the principle of common interests and federated employment solved the problem. The men, from being discontented revolutionaries, became self-respecting and prosperous citizens. This society now embraces nine hundred members. The same favourable results followed a like experiment tried by other capitalists, remarkably so in the case of Dupont and the printing confraternity. But the most wonderful

development of the system was perhaps that wherein the workmen themselves combined, and this in the face of great poverty and difficulty in the beginning of the experiment, owing to want of the necessary capital, yet carried on their organization until it became a highly profitable business. At Rochdale, in England, a similar movement was initiated, and Mr. Holyoake describes how marvellous was the transformation wrought among simple cobblers and others once they combined for their common benefit and profit. As Mill shows so conclusively in his *Political Economy*, the results of the progressive advance of the co-operative principle are invariably an increase in the aggregate productiveness of industry, and the gradual and general tendency that would exist to give a greater stimulus to labour, by making the workman do the furthest possible amount of work, instead of the least, in exchange for his remuneration. The long standing and embittered feud between labour and capital would by this means be transformed into a friendly rivalry of friends and associates—the conflict of classes struggling for opposite and opposing interests would be found changed into a generous pursuit of a common purpose and the attainment of a common good. That by such incentives to industry a new dignity would be acquired by labour, and a new sense of security and independence attained by the co-partners in the association, seems an established economic truth.

These beneficent consequences are sure to result from an intelligent and well-balanced extension of the principle and practice of co-operative enterprise. Judging from its proved and attested evidences of substantial success when tried in the various trading and manufacturing occupations which man undertakes, it is strange that its extensive employment in the domain of agriculture has been so long delayed. In no other department of industry could a better field for organized operations offer itself. In the present uncertain condition of agrarian affairs, with the relations between the landowners, or so called capitalists on the one hand, and the workers and producers on the other, strained and unsatisfactory, so that every expedient to reconcile their conflicting interests seems but a patching over of an old sore and not its healthy healing, one wonders how even the conservatism of agriculturists keeps that class from adventuring on the yet untrodden paths of "federated farming." Agriculture in a peculiar manner seems adapted to the experiment of associated profits. It is, as an

eminent French economist, M. le Play, says: "Ce que offre seul aux familles-souches un moyen permanent de travail et de subsistence. Elle se prête avec une admirable élasticité à toutes les convenances de la petite ou de la grande industrie. Elle s'organise spontanément selon l'état intellectuel ou moral des familles et selon les rapports si divers que peuvent exister entrè elles. Plus que toute autre branche d'activité elle caractérise la vie nationale. Elle est, dans l'ordre matériel et dans le régime de travail, la force qui complète le mieux l'œuvre de la création. Enfin la pré-éminence de l'agriculture sur les autres arts a été érigée en axiome."

A source and means of employment which presents such advantages for the purposes of a plan of associated profit-sharing can hardly remain much longer out of the scope of co-operative enterprise. An industry which gives man nearly everything necessary for his subsistence, and thus secures him an independence such as no other can afford in the same degree, which enables him to be relatively free from the fluctuations of trade, the fall of markets, or other reverses which try so severely the ordinary complex combinations of trade, manufacture, and commerce, such an industry must necessarily assert for itself a suitable recognition of its utility. A branch of human activity which, like agriculture, identifies itself so intimately with the general prosperity of a country, and which therefore has not inaptly been called the flywheel that regulates the progress of all other subsidiary industries, and which also associates itself so intimately with the well-being of a people, cannot in this age of advancement be left untouched by the Midas' hand of combined labour.

It is to be hoped therefore that before long efforts will be made in these countries in the direction of co-operative farming. That its results would compare favourably with the workings of the large capitalist system adopted in England, or the small farm industry in France, seems most probable, if one may judge of its superior productive effects when brought into competition with these same systems in other industries. A country depending upon a few large farms officered by stewards, and worked with mechanical regularity, or trusting to the uncertain and fluctuating earnings of the small farmer, is not likely to be as prosperous nor is the condition of its people sure to be as happy and contented as would be the case, were most of these operations

carried on by federated labour, self-controlled and self-directed, and therefore calling out the best part of human nature and appealing to the best instincts of man. Such an arrangement would undoubtedly tend to the elimination of much of that dangerous friction which is evolved from the present relations of labour and capital, and by so much advance the general security of the State.

As a practical proof of these remarks, I shall briefly detail the successful workings of a co-operative farming society which existed in Ireland nearly fifty years ago, and was from its inception entirely regulated and controlled by the great principle of community of labour. The conditions under which the system was tried were peculiarly unfavourable; yet the marked and marvellous success of the enterprise produced a great and lasting impression upon the public mind at that time, and were it not for the want of legislative protection such as is now extended to co-operative enterprises, and the consequent break up of the settlement on the bankruptcy of the landlord, there is no doubt there would have been a great extension and perpetuation of that saving system. But with its uncontrolled discontinuance, came the fearful famine which wrecked this unfortunate country and quite unhinged the public mind, until all the old land-marks of the community being removed, there was little thought of renovation, little hope of resurrection, and co-operation became a thing of the past. The life-story of that community is briefly told.

In 1831 Ireland was in a sorely disturbed condition, born of religious dissension, bred by the "Bible bigotry of the Britisher," and by the terrible exactions of Protestant and absentee landlords. Secret leagues of every conceivable character and designation honeycombed provincial society. "Terry Alts" and "Whiteboys" *et hoc genus omne* were organized to terrorize and wreak the "wild justice of revenge" upon every species of property. The English Government, unfortunately, had nothing to offer by way of remedy, redress, or reform for the admitted evils of the situation but coercion in all its stringency. A prison or the workhouse became the only provision for poverty. Soldiery, in big battalions, police in crowds, these were the familiar expedients tried, only to intensify and embitter the situation.

At this peculiarly awkward time the co-operative farm of Ralahine was started, and with these unpromising materials

for its establishment a labour association was formed. In a brief letter to the *Spectator* (July 1884) the zealous secretary of that institution, Mr. E. T. Craig, said :

"On my arrival in the county of Clare I found the district in the wildest confusion." . . . "These influences," he further on adds, speaking of the lessons of self-help imparted, "were effective in socializing and refining the 'wild Irish,' who from being a terror to the district, became, under the guidance of a Saxon, within two months, orderly, industrious, contented, thrifty, and comparatively happy. So great was the change that the Chief Secretary admitted it in the House of Commons. For thirty years after there was no murder in the districts about Ralahine. And yet, any one acquainted with the history of the country knows well that the time was not favourable to such a novel and complex experiment—the public mind was disturbed to the fullest extent of abnormal turmoil and trouble even for this country. Civil war, in all its fierce frenzy prevailed—man's hand was raised against his brother, and, goaded on by famine and want, the peasantry became reckless and uncontrollable in their wild lawlessness." Mr. Craig thus describes in his *History of Ralahine* what he saw around him when he found himself there : "The starving peasantry were clamorous for land, for employment, and for food, and it was proposed to convince them by military force of arguments, and to silence them by a supply of powder and shot. While quietness followed the appearance of the soldiery and police in one district, the discontented and starving peasantry assembled together in other parts and perpetrated the most atrocious crimes. An active magistrate, an obnoxious landlord, agent or steward, was not assured of safety for a single night. The peasantry marched in bands through the south-western counties, demanding a reduction of rents and an increase of wages, which were then only six-pence a day for agricultural labourers. In the west of Ireland there were two hundred thousand people in want of food, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a vote of £50,000 to be applied to the starving people in making roads, &c."

We leave it to this Englishman just fresh from his native land to give his impressions of this gross administrative neglect. Mr. Craig writes : "What a melancholy picture of a rich soil only partially cultivated, and a willing people unemployed. Condemned to remain ignorant, they had become brutal in their

revenge for social injustice, and were driven to wild and demoniacal deeds of desperate violence, through want of food, work, and employment. To preserve property, it was deemed proper to shoot the creators of wealth."

I could accumulate proof upon proof of the simple statements of that "Saxon" witness to the condition of affairs in Ireland in 1831, when the first flutterings of the wings of the angel of death were heard among *eight millions* of a population. Next year famine and its twin-sister fever did sad havoc, and despairing want "wrote rebel deep on the nation's heart." But this scene of suffering was but a prelude to the awful devastation wrought in black '47 and '48—years whose sad memories are burned into the Irish mind too lastingly ever to be effaced. However I am not concerned now with the history of these horrors, but rather with the story of a thriving community, established and thriving in peace and plenty, in the midst of surrounding sorrow, sickness, and destitution. I dwelt upon this period's record, and described the state of the country for the purpose of showing with what apparently unfit material, and at what an unpropitious time, Mr. Craig set about the organization of his co-operative community at Ralahine. I shall now briefly recount the work he did, and the results of his labours. To my mind it seems marvellous how a self-controlled and self-managed society of nearly one hundred members could, at such a period, suffering from the disadvantages of a previous lawless life, be got to live together under stringent rules of their own making, and abide together in brotherly peace and friendship. The impartial testimonies of the success of the enterprise, attested by such eye-witnesses as Mr. Owen of New Lanark fame, Mr. Finch of Liverpool, as well as in Parliamentary reports, show that no undue affection for his project, no inclination to pass over defects, or to forget the inconveniences of the practical working of the plan, induced the writer of the story of Ralahine to pen such an interesting account of the rise and progress of that community. The facts and incidents of the narrative I can only attempt to summarize.

The Vandeleurs of Clare were an old and well-known family, and like all the Irish gentry of that, for them, lawless rollicking time, they managed to live beyond their means, and enjoy a chronic state of bankruptcy and debt. Lord Beaconsfield once spoke of men "acred to the lips and consold to the chin" but were that epigrammatic writer describing an

Irish landlord, he would probably be inclined to speak of that unfortunate class as "mortgaged to the mouths and encumbered to the eyebrows." They were at the opening years of this century, noted and only notable for the three distinguishing characteristics they boasted of, "their pride, poverty, and pedigree." One of that class, but rather a more intelligent and better specimen of the *irritable genus*, was John Scott Vandaleur. He possessed a property which his impecuniosity and the unsaleability of land rendered useless to him, but with a very keen eye to business he proposed to let it, for the purpose of trying the experiment of co-operative farming, which the popular writings of Mr. Owen of Manchester made a "fashionable fad." Mr. Vandaleur lost no time in putting himself in communication with Mr. E. T. Craig, and after some preliminary arrangements, the latter agreed to leave for his new enterprise in Ireland. It seemed a forlorn hope, beside which a relief expedition to the North Pole for the Franklin crew then paled in relative feasibility. Despite, however, of every possible drawback which the affections of friends and country could put in his way; despite the dismally dark prospect of success which a strange and unsettled people offered to the adventurer of such an experiment, this energetic enthusiast started, with the same apostolic zeal which distinguishes his action to-day in favour of the great and noble cause of Co-operation, and in due time arrived at Ralahine, a picturesquely situated farm-stead on the road from Limerick to Ennis. Nature had done her utmost for the locality to embellish and beautify it. Man was doing his utmost to brutalize and destroy the effects of such magnificent scenery. The lordly Shannon—the largest river in the three kingdoms—laved the northern boundaries of the estate. A dense mass of forest land, some of the finest of its kind, called Cratloe Wood, was situated at the other end of the new farm. There was a diversity of bog and upland, plantation and meadow, plain and hill, such as are only to be seen so well combined in the Emerald Isle. But the people who lived there were becoming very devils in vagrant villainy; regular occupation had given way to plunder and robbery, the spade was exchanged for the rifle. Soon the arrival of the "Sassenach" (Irish for Saxon) was spread abroad and arrangements were speedily made for the "removal" of this obnoxious interloper. His grave was dug outside the mansion, upon the lawn, and he was promised "a daisy-decked carpet" for a monument. Still, unheeding this

plain warning, Mr. Craig went amongst these untamed spirits, spoke quietly and reasonably to them, and in fine treated them as brothers and as Christians. The effect was magical. They soon thronged round him, heard with deep interest of his philanthropic plans, volunteered their aid, and in a few days a community of eighty-one persons was formed. Rules were framed and readily adopted by them, and as an instance of their character and stringency I select at random a few extracts from the code:—

Rule 9 enacted: "We engage that whatever talents we may individually possess, whether mental or muscular, agricultural, manufacturing or scientific, shall be directed to the benefit of all, as well by their immediate exercise in all necessary occupations, as by communicating our knowledge to each other, and particularly to the young."

Rule 11.—That all the youths, male and female, do engage to learn some useful trade, together with agriculture and gardening, between the ages of nine and seventeen years.

Rule 12.—That the committee of labourers meet every evening to arrange the business for the following day. (This committee was regularly appointed by ballot.)

Rule 13 regulated the hours of work, which were from six in the morning to six in the evening in summer-time, and from day-break till dusk in winter, while another prescript enjoined that no work disagreeable to any person, was to be insisted on, but any contumacious idler was liable to be expelled by a majority of votes of his co-partners. Examining more fully the constitution of the Society, we find its general regulations equally admirable, and that all its laws and internal organization were based upon the most liberal and enlightened principles. The expenses of the education of the growing families were to be defrayed from the corporate funds, and arrangements were made by which a regularly-trained and certificated teacher of the Catholic persuasion, to which the majority of the members belonged, was secured as a teacher of the community's school. The curriculum of studies carried out in the communal school was extensive and varied, thoroughly in keeping with the occupations and calling of the children, and eminently calculated to develope their tastes and talents. The cost of the clothing and feeding of the youth was also a common charge, and in order to free the mothers from the care of their offspring, or rather to provide for them some protection from the neglect and carelessness incidental to the lives of the

children of hard-toiling parents, the little ones were supposed to stop most of the day in the large and spacious grounds allotted for their special accommodation. The effect of these, and other judicious arrangements, were, we are told, marvellous. Unkempt and unruly little rascals, under these civilizing and genial influences, became well-trimmed and well-conducted, and, while losing none of the natural vivacity of happy childhood, enjoyed all its sweetness and light without alloy of the vice or wretchedness of the hovels they had known. This kindly training of the young was a most creditable feature in the Society's programme, and was fruitful of great, enduring, and noble consequences. But the regimen under which the adults were bound, was very strict, and one of the chief provisions was an unbending prohibition of the use of intoxicating liquor of any kind. The members were forbidden to sell or buy any alcoholic drinks, snuff or tobacco, and any infringement of this rule was regarded as a serious transgression. Here a moral revolution was wrought in a day. There is during the continuance of the Society, no instance recorded of a wilful and deliberate breach of this temperance rule, and only one case occurred off the farm, when a member attended a wake, and, as was the general practice at these dangerous gatherings, had partaken of drink. This delict, under the circumstances, was palliated by the hard conditions of the provocation, and the offender pardoned on payment of a fine. The chief living and moving principle of the organization appears to have been the great fact that it was self-controlled. Each man regulated his own and had a voice in the regulation of his co-labourers' daily work. The plan adopted was simple but effectual. In the large room, where the men congregated each evening after the day's toil was over, was hung a number of slates having the occupation of each member for the coming day clearly written upon them. This record was criticized and questioned, and if the other men found that a "tack" was too easy and comfortable for their fellow-workman, or on the contrary uncongenial and unsuited to him, they were able, by a majority of votes, to change the allocation in any manner or degree they pleased. This was to them a happy change. The stewards and bailiffs they were accustomed to have over them were harder in their hearts and crueller in their treatment than could be well imagined, and the memories of their harsh exactions burned deep into their souls. And now they found themselves freed from such

restraints: they enjoyed the sense of being their own masters to a degree never dreamt of. So assiduous were they in their work that never was a complaint heard of idleness or neglect. Double the work drawn out of them on the hired system was given voluntarily and in half the time. A traveller, who once came to this new settlement, the fame of whose success brought so many to visit it and see with their own eyes such strange scenes as self-controlled Celts toiling harmoniously together, related that he noticed in the far outskirts of the farm a labourer, elbow deep in a drain, clearing it of stones. He interrogated the man, and found that, away from supervision or oversight, he was at this inconvenient and uncomfortable work—without employer's eye or steward's scrutiny. On another occasion a poor widow in the neighbourhood was in a sore plight: her crops were ripe, and she had not the means to employ a harvester. The Ralahine boys set off to her fields, and between times cut and garnered every grain for her, threshed it and made it ready for market. In a short time a large tract of boggy land was reclaimed to verdant fertility and freshness. Weeds disappeared, the fields were cleared of stones, gates and fences were repaired, and in twelve months the cultivable land of the farm was increased by over fifty acres of reclaimed bog. The cattle kept were of the best breed, and the cows of the highest milk-giving class. A department of the household most productive and profitable was the dairy, and, combined with improved notions of butter making, was the necessary training they acquired in a kitchen-garden, which to most of the community was certainly a new experience. The rent paid for the farm consisting of six hundred and thirty-one acres, was £900 a year—rather a stiff sum in these times. By a provision in the agreement between the landlord and the trustees on part of the society, the rent at that figure was paid in kind; the corn, hay, &c., being delivered at the Limerick markets free of cost to Mr. Vandaleur. This system was thought recommendable upon many grounds, but in my opinion it conduced more to the advantage of the landlord than to the benefit of the Society, but still at that time, and with the slow progress of economic thought then reached, it was deemed an equitable arrangement, although the owner admitted afterwards that the rent *per se* was too high. Yet from the beginning of the transaction until its untimely and abrupt ending, the fixed amount was paid to the very penny,

and upon the exact day stipulated. I do not imagine it would now be possible in Ireland to establish any system of federated farming upon such an exceedingly one-sided basis, for it would be justly held as a principle of the partnership, that both parties should be liable to the same liabilities and losses. Under that contract, however, *colhte qui colhte*, the landlord was preferentially protected, and, despite any fluctuations in the markets for agricultural produce, or any depression in the prices of stock raised on the land, he was secure of his rent, and, in fine, no matter how things went, his £900 was safe. That seemed a weak point in the bargain, and that the landlord deserved no consideration whatsoever, appeared in the sequel. When by his folly and extravagance his whole property went into bankruptcy and he was compelled to fly the country, there was appropriated and seized in the first haul of the bailiffs, as assets for his card and other gaming creditors, the very property of these unfortunate men at Ralahine, so that the fruitful results of their combined labour, their fertile fields, and herds, and flocks, were the spoils of this fellow's fraudulent failure. A case of more terrible injustice can hardly be conceived. Through no fault of any one of the eighty-one honest, hard-working labourers, for no act of its own, the community found itself helplessly adrift, and the results of its two years' improving toil confiscated. Verily it was, as too often the case in Ireland, an exemplification of the classic saying of Horace :

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.

So it was with these industrious poor people. They were sacrificed to another's extravagance.

What appeared to be an excellent feature in the arrangements of the Society was the payment of the weekly wage of the members in "labour-notes." The agricultural operations undertaken were so successful, that the prevailing rate of wage in the country was able to be paid from the beginning, and the heavy initial costs all the while discharged. The average rate per diem was then (fifty-three years ago) 6d. per day for an adult. This was gradually increased at Ralahine, until in twelve months the increase reached one hundred per cent., or 1s. a day, and the higher condition of cultivation secured in the meantime, the greater comfort of the labourers, and the absence of the necessity for an expenditure on building decent habitations, would have enabled the community (along with making, as it

did from the first, provision for illness and incapacity) to have distributed among themselves an annually increasing amount of profits from the common wage-fund. At that time, over half a century ago, the mechanical means and appliances for hay-making, ploughing, and harvesting were of the most primitive character. Little was known, even in more advanced English districts, of any of the machine aids now almost indispensable. With these priceless advantages available now-a-days, it is needless to add how much more expeditiously and economically all the otherwise tiresome and time-losing farming occupations would be gone through, and by how much the more profitable would the experiment of federated farming become. Another serious drawback experienced, and not likely to be found existing to such a degree in any part of the three kingdoms at present, was the low standard of education then prevalent. Most of the men at Ralahine were rude, ignorant, and illiterate, and yet it was wonderful how cordially they co-operated with each other and how intelligently they understood and carried out their respective duties. The power of regulating the work of the farm, which was the function of this peasant parliament, although a matter of serious and weighty importance, was exercised in a most excellent manner, reflecting high credit upon their abilities and intelligence. Newspapers and books were almost unknown to them, and the other means of political education and social enlightenment were equally strange and unfamiliar. That necessary adjunct to any well-ordered community, provision for the recreation and enjoyment of the members according to their different tasks, were not forgotten or overlooked, for several means of jollification and amusement were provided. Mr. Craig, the efficient Secretary, was a kindly directing spirit over the little progressive Society, yet his position was held at their will and pleasure. His firm yet gentle administration of affairs was not deemed irritating or exacting, but generously supported and upheld. Things were going on satisfactorily, the community was thriving, its numbers increasing, its example becoming contagious, when the fiat of bankruptcy against the landlord involved the Society in the universal ruin and destruction. No laws, such as now wisely exist, for the recognition and protection of Co-operative Societies or for the separation of the tenants' interests from those of their landlord, were then on the Statute Book, no measures could be taken to preserve the interests of the innocent—all were alike caught in the

maelström of destructive insolvency, and the little community had, perforce, to break up. Its ties and bonds were sundered, and it was smashed into its individual atoms. Discontented and disappointed individuals wandered about the district, and the land reverted to what it was at first. But the memory of the work done even yet remains fresh in the locality; the recollection of its usefulness still lingers round the spot as of a once blessed place. People for many years after talked of the "new system" with fervour and favour, and wished for its re-establishment in more congenial quarters and under more agreeable circumstances. But the black and gaunt figures of want and wretchedness were everywhere to be seen: with hundreds dying each week in dark '47 and '48, with thousands in misery, to think of such thoughts was to imagine the impossible and hope for the unrealizable. It remains to be seen and shown, if now, in better days and with better laws, the same experiment of federated farming may not be with far greater success tried under conditions more lasting and extensive. The fifty years that have since elapsed have wrought marvels. We have now an educated people to deal with, modern agricultural appliances are available, and land can be secured by lease or purchased in fee upon equitable terms; railways have opened up the country, and there prevails a strong, assertive national spirit and the determined desire of an advancing people to utilize and develop the resources of the island. Under all these favourable circumstances, and with a yet unsolved land problem before the Legislature, the history of the work done by co-operation at Ralahine fifty years ago may prove as instructive as it is interesting.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

What shall we read?

THE answer to this question is not so very simple a one as might at first be supposed. Many who have read all they care to read of the books on their own shelves, and are dissatisfied with the contents of the parcels from Mudie's, would be well pleased if THE MONTH would tell them of something new, to awaken interest or gratify a taste for excitement, and will be disappointed when they find that the question is not answered by giving a list of works that will do this. But if they, and the other readers of this paper, will kindly give up for the moment the thought of books of mere amusement, and follow us in a more thoughtful consideration of the subject, it may perhaps serve to help them to a fresh interest, and a much more sustained gratification from reading, than they have experienced heretofore. We ask at least that they would just *think* a little whether what we say is true or not.

1. If, then, a person were to ask the question, What shall I read? we could only answer it satisfactorily by making the inquiry, Tell me, first, why you read at all? What motive have you for reading? Is it simply to kill time, to get rid of *ennui*, and amuse yourself when there is nothing else to do? To suppose that educated Catholics would be content with an answer which the world in general would be ashamed to make, would be nothing less than an insult to our great educational establishments, our colleges and convent schools, which are quite competent to send out our young people into the world with a cultivated intelligence. But we may suppose that one motive which would influence many in the matter of reading would be to keep up their knowledge, to be *au courant* with what is going on in the world, to be as well informed as others in matters of general knowledge, to be able to converse with others on the most distinguished men, on the marvels of science, on latest discoveries and the newest inventions. Catholics having still the tradition amongst them of a time when they were

excluded from the society and education of their equals, are naturally somewhat keen as to taking their place in society, entering into its enjoyments and indulging in its follies to the full, and they have often a desire to show that they are quite equal to take their place in it as well as the best. Then there is not unfrequently to be found a notion that non-Catholics are more cultivated and better informed than ourselves—that they are oftener well read and consequently more interesting to converse with. And so from these causes not a few amongst us desire to be well up to the mark in this respect, and are as ready to know and read books that are generally known and read by the world as to read sensational novels. They have come to see that a knowledge of the greatest actor or dancer of the day, of the newest opera or most distinguished singer, is not all that is to be found in the best ranks of society, and they have a laudable ambition to be equally well read and well informed with others in the subjects of the day. Hence they would be glad to know of books which are the latest and best, on the subjects of greatest interest in the ranks of society.

2. But there are many who have a more solid reason for interest in the question, *What shall we read?* With them it is not merely the desire to show themselves as well informed as the rest of the world, but they have a real desire to cultivate and improve their minds. They have come to see that, not for the sake of others, but for their own sake, it is desirable to be well read. Perhaps they have noticed among their friends some, who, because they have a taste for reading, are much more independent of weather and society and of external circumstances generally, for amusement and relaxation than they themselves are. Whatever is, or is going to be, their life in the world, such persons have the resource of reading—reading in the direction of some particular subject in which they have special interest, or reading the best books on every subject. With this resource they are not afraid of what may happen to them. In hours of dulness, loneliness, or even of sickness, or when shut out from the excitements of society, they find a constant friend in an interesting book. But to attain to this happy condition—perhaps the most enduringly delightful of all mere natural lives—the reader has not merely to have learnt how to read, *i.e.*, with exercise and exertion of the mind and its powers—thought, memory, imagination—but he must get hold of good books—books that have something in them. For a book is the

outward expression of the author's mind, and if the author's mind was a very ordinary one, without any special power or character, or at least without a good knowledge of some particular subject, his book is more likely to create a distaste for reading than anything else. But now the number of books is infinite, and moreover books—like the razors that were not made to shave but to sell—are published not mainly in the interest of those who desire to communicate knowledge, but still more in the interest of the publisher. Thus it becomes more and more difficult to know what to read. The very abundance and overflow of literature makes it hard work to make a selection of good books suitable to the tastes and capacities and circumstances of different readers. How many things have to be taken into account and considered before a good answer can be returned to the question, *What shall we read?*

3. So far we have been considering the question only in regard to our own gratification. But be patient, O gentle reader, while we put before your consideration something which, since it must affect you if you read at all, is a matter that concerns no one so much as yourself. Reading is an exercise, an amusement, a recreation, a resource. But it is something else as well. We eat to satisfy hunger, to gratify appetite, but we know well enough that in partaking of our meals we are not merely enjoying ourselves, but taking in food to support the system and keep up health and strength. This food is so selected and prepared, that those who are fairly strong have ordinarily no fear that what is set before them will be prejudicial to them. But suppose we are so circumstanced that we have to provide for ourselves, to select our own food; we know that then we must see what we are about. For we depend for health, strength, and even life, on the food we take. If we take that which does not suit us, which will not support our constitution, or which breeds disease, who is responsible for this? who suffers from it but ourselves? The effects of unwholesome or unsuitable food, taken occasionally or in small quantities, may not be very mischievous, but if men get to take it habitually—to feed on it till it gets into the system, it becomes ruinous. As it is, despite of the resources and improvements of civilization, there is, it is well known, no such fruitful cause of weak and broken health, of disease and of premature death, as food or drink that is deficient or excessive, or adulterated or unwholesome; and if we neglect to attend to this, we are fairly

the sufferers, for we are responsible for that with which we feed our bodies.

Why is it that so few realize that what is true of the body is also true of the mind? This also is dependent on food. This, like the body, is nourished and supported by that which we give to it. Its vigour and health, nay, in the long run, its character, is dependent on the kind of nourishment which is supplied to it, and we are responsible, as we are in the case of the body, for the description of food with which we supply it. The ideas, notions, principles, and tastes which direct our actions and form our habits and build up our character, are to a large extent derived from that with which we ourselves have fed our minds. They are at least nourished and strengthened by it. We often delude ourselves with the imagination that our minds are so well informed and evenly balanced, that we sit in judgment on all that we read and hear, and are not led away by it—that our mental digestion is good enough to accept what is wholesome and reject what is pernicious. But this is very seldom the case. Neither the body nor the mind is capable of repeatedly and continually receiving unwholesome food without being injured by it. It gets into the blood, it comes to be a part of the system, and the character is affected by it. We talk as if our ideas and views and tastes were obtained from the light of our own intellect and conscience, and do not realize that the intellect and conscience have themselves been darkened, and dulled, and perverted, by the unwholesome food we have given them. In how many cases do we not owe our present ideas, our state of mind and character, to what we have been reading? Our minds have *not* exercised discretion or sat in judgment on what we have read, but have been misled and carried away by it. It has not been our judgment at all, but the judgment of the authors whose books we selected.

Two causes combine to make it a matter of far greater difficulty to feed the mind than the body with wholesome food. As regards the body it is to a great extent done for us. There are doctors, and professors, and men of science, who make it their study and business to promote and assist the knowledge of what is good and healthful. Laws are put in force against unwholesome and adulterated food. Private enterprise and public institutions are set on foot to promote and supply what is good. But what help do we get towards securing the knowledge and use of wholesome literature? What laws or regulations are in

force against that which is misleading and mischievous? It must be something very gross indeed to bring it within the reach of the law. Time was when the Church exercised a wise and useful restraint over dangerous reading, but what she is able to effect in that way now is like a restraint on venial faults while those that are mortal go free. If the Government of any country, as in Russia, still retains a censorship over literature, or whenever, as in this country, the laws made in former times are put in force, there is an outcry that the liberty of the Press is invaded. No; it is looked upon as one of the most blessed privileges of a free country that, as regards the mind, we may feed on as much unwholesome food as we like.

It might have been thought that, under this condition of things, it would have been a matter of special attention to provide that every one should be taught to discriminate between wholesome and unwholesome literature; that, as we come forth into public life prepared more or less to face its difficulties and protect ourselves against its dangers, so we should be on our guard against the hidden mischief of indiscriminate reading, and have been taught how to take care of ourselves in this respect. Yet strange to say, the bulk of young people do not seem at all aware that they have anything to guard against or be afraid of. It is enough for them that a book should be exciting, amusing, interesting, well written, for them to get hold of it, without even adverting to the consideration of the effect it may have on their own minds.

Colleges and convents are often careful to the extreme against any dangerous literature finding entrance within their walls. Yet there it would probably do little harm, being corrected by the spirit and prevailing ideas of the place, and the absence of bad companions. But in too many cases it is not part of the educational programme to inform the pupils of the dangers and temptations they must encounter from this source, to teach them how to select books, to practise them in discriminating, and train them in avoiding and rejecting what is unwholesome, so as to prepare them against the time when they will be exposed to the dangerous liberty of reading whatever comes before them, without having any longer the safeguards of advice or restraint. Yet surely if our character is to a great extent built up, or on the other hand destroyed, by what we read, the forming of a good taste, a correct judgment, and above all a vigilant conscience in the matter of reading, is one of the most

important parts of any education that is to fit men and women to go through life. It would be well then if all had learned to study the question, *What shall we read?*

4. There is another purpose for which this question, *What shall we read?* may be and often is asked. We cannot enter into the society of the world now-a-days, without hearing subjects connected with religion and religious belief discussed. Many who are often not well read or adequately informed on what the Church teaches, have nevertheless a good deal to say on the difficulties of particular doctrines. Often what is said has great plausibility about it; sometimes a certain amount of reason; for there are professedly mysteries in religion, and questions on which, because they do not concern us now, we are, as Butler says, "very greatly in the dark." Yet it distresses us to hear things said against religion, its truth and purity, without being able to give an answer to them. We feel that there is a sufficient answer to the objections and mis-statements, but we want to be able to produce a good and telling answer, to refute the objection and put down the mis-statement. We should often be glad to know of books that would help us—books that enter into the objections of infidels and heretics, and discuss the religious questions of the day. When we have heard something on which we felt that we were not ourselves fully informed, our interest is excited, and we should be very glad to come home and refer to books that will give us the information we want to put down objections, and perhaps to satisfy our own minds. *What shall we read? What books will give us the information we seek?*

5. And this leads us to one more reason—the most important of all—for our asking the question, *What shall we read?* For, hearing the sceptical conversation of men of literature and refinement, and questions which go to the root of religion discussed, often, with the appearance of a fair and dispassionate spirit, we are led beyond the desire of answering their arguments, to a consciousness of our own ignorance, and that we have not thought or read much on these subjects ourselves, and that the opponents and enemies of religion are more up in the subject than we, who are its friends. And this suspicion or conviction may lead to a desire of further study of religion, its history, its doctrines, its difficulties, not for the sake of others so much as for ourselves. Indeed it is a very doubtful good that we should learn religious doctrine and

history with the view of arguing with others or refuting them. For though many zealous Catholics, out of very loyalty to the Church, are anxious to be able to do this, yet experience does not tend to the conclusion that arguing with religious opponents leads to their conversion, whereas the habit of mind, acquired by attacking others or arguing with them, has a fatal influence over the spiritual condition of the person possessing it. It somehow puts him into a wrong attitude of mind about religion. We are too easily diverted from the difficult duty of attending to ourselves, to the easier one of "pitching into" other people. We are very apt to mistake our own love of argument and contention for a zeal for God's glory. But, however, if we are to argue—if we think it is only part of our duty in these days to stand up openly for the truth, to speak as freely and fearlessly for the faith of God as Agnostics and men of the world do against it, let us at least be fully assured that we cannot do so with any effect unless we are well up in the subject ourselves. Men of science are fond of laying to the reproach of those who live by faith, that they have not studied science thoroughly, but have at most a smattering of it; that, did they go into the subject, they would feel the weight of its claims, and the force of its objections to religion. Such a reproach is not unbearable. Many of us have not the time nor perhaps the ability to study science deeply, and have moreover no disposition to descend from the pedestal of faith to the level ground of religious indifference, in order to be able, as Agnostics desire, to compare the claims of science and religion with dispassionate impartiality. It is better to bear the reproach of an ignorance which is not culpable, than to expose ourselves to the danger of losing a treasure which we are too weak to protect. But while we need none of us be ashamed at not being able to enter into the lists with men of science on their own subject, it is a real matter of reproach and even of danger in the present day, that we are not well informed in our own subject. It is a real reproach to us if we are unable to explain intelligently the doctrines and practices of our own belief, and show ourselves to be as soon out of our depth here as on the subject of science. And it is a danger; for if we hear things said in the world about religion and its doctrines and history which are new to us, and very striking from the fresh light they cast into our minds, this may be the cause of grave temptation, and give force to the insinuation of

the world, that men only believe with a strong and simple faith, when they have been kept in ignorance. We need not be ashamed that men of science should know their own subject more fully and thoroughly than we do, but it is cause for shame when they are found to know ours better than we do, to have studied it more carefully, to have thought over it more deeply. And it is a shame if, while we learn sciences and study history, and take pains, some of us, to be well up in the subjects of the day, we are not well read, not full of thought, interest and intelligence on the subject of religion, and are destitute of any thorough acquaintance with its great doctrines and its history, and with that wonderful Book which "has God for its Author."

This, then, is the highest and best motive for inquiring, *What shall we read?* We must read not merely for the sake of those in the world, who, even if they are irreligious themselves, still instinctively turn to Catholics as those who are not mere amateurs in religion, but "in the profession." We must read, that we may be able to speak intelligently about it to men of intelligence. We must read again, not merely to guide and help those who look up to us and are dependent on us for guidance, our children, servants, and friends, that we may be able by advice and instruction and the selection of suitable books, to help and guard them. We must read for our own sake, as a protection to our own souls, and we must read books that give us thought, interest, and intelligence on religious subjects. To know what the Church really teaches, to be conversant with Sacred History, to have read the works of the great men, who have believed in and written on religion, its doctrines and difficulties, is the greatest safeguard against being "like children carried about by every wind of doctrine" that springs up.

But the subject, our readers will, we fear, think, is getting too serious; and we will go no further with the question, *What shall we read?* but will, in conclusion, say a few words on what answer we would give to the question.

The answer must in great measure depend on the will and purpose of the reader, and the object he sets before himself in reading at all. But whatever that object is, provided it is not a bad one, we think that some very real assistance may be given him by St. Anselm's Society for the Diffusion of Good Books.

St. Anselm's Society! we think we hear people say, for the

world is suspicious; so all this long sermon about reading is to get up St. Anselm's Society and advocate its claims to support!

No, dear reader, you are not quite right. All this is not for the sake of St. Anselm's Society. Put it the other way and then you will be nearer the mark. St. Anselm's Society is because of all this, this serious mischief of books being read indiscriminately, this great work of promoting the knowledge of sound and wholesome literature. If St. Anselm's Society cannot awaken attention to this danger, and assist in this good work, the sooner it comes to an end the better. *Its occupation will have gone.*

It was set up some twenty years since and received the sanction of the Holy See, an Indulgence being granted by the Holy Father to all who supported or subscribed to it.

Since that time the evil which it desired to grapple with has vastly increased, and, not least, amongst English-speaking people. We know of one of the Irish Bishops speaking in extremely strong terms of the great mischief done even in Ireland by people reading pernicious, unwholesome books and papers, which are misleading and corrupting them. Those who have visited America and interested themselves in learning the state of the people, are shocked and horrified at the unblushing indecency of the cheap literature provided for and accepted by the working classes. The young are corrupted by it. In this country things have not yet reached so extreme a point, but they are going on towards it, and we have to contend with this special element of difficulty, that education is just now being pressed forward with great energy amongst all classes, with the general result of there being a greatly increased and increasing intellectual activity and knowledge. All sorts of subjects are studied. People of all classes and conditions are acquainted with them and converse on them. They are pushed forward in competitive examinations and in public schools. All the world is "going in" for knowledge—but the knowledge of this world, and that which is of the earth, earthly. Can we stop the current of events, or make it go the other way? Nay; our own rivulets are flowing in to increase the force of the torrent. The one only thing that we can do is that which our Holy Father urges upon us. "In regard," he says, "to the flood of wicked books and those journals of disorder and iniquity whose influence is so baneful, the only possible remedy is, to writings we must oppose writings, and endeavour to turn that which is made

so powerful an instrument of evil to be an instrument of good."

This is the principle and aim of St. Anselm's Society. What means does it propose towards carrying it out?

1. To enlist and unite as many Catholics as possible in this aim and work of awakening and warning those over whom they may have any influence against indiscriminate reading, and helping to promote the reading of standard works and of wholesome literature.

2. Whenever this is being done or attempted, the Society gives assistance by issuing lists of books, selected by Catholics of culture and experience, and suitable for different classes of readers. These lists have indeed no authority, and objections may be taken by one person which others do not feel. But the Society will gladly correct any mistake that may be pointed out to it.

3. As, however, general readers do not, for the most part, and could not, buy books, but are used to obtain them from lending libraries and book stalls, a list is being made out by a few persons who have had unusual opportunities of knowing works of fiction and of general interest, so as to enable heads of families and others to make choice out of the existing lending libraries of books which are standard works or works of interest and merit, with little or nothing objectionable in them. This "Family List" will be of great use to those who are sensible enough to remember that we can effect most by not attempting to do all at once, but being satisfied to mitigate, as Balmez shows the Church did in civilizing the world, the evils which cannot be completely arrested.

4. But the work which St. Anselm's Society above all aims at doing is not lessening an evil, but doing a good. No *great* results can be expected to come from mere restraint in the matter of reading. We should like to encourage and stimulate the intellectual appetite by cultivating and educating it to a knowledge and taste for healthy reading. A taste for reading is in itself a valuable acquisition, a great safeguard, an inestimable resource. But, like a healthy appetite, it must be fed on wholesome food, or it will lose even its own vigour. Yet—shall we say it?—the attempt to resuscitate St. Anselm's Society owes its origin to the sad impressions forced on some of those who have brought into contact with the education of our young people in colleges, convents, and other schools, and whose spirit

was often stirred within them at seeing great pains bestowed and every sort of device adopted in order to ensure interest and success in the extra subjects of art and science and even flashy knowledge, while there was no trace of the pupils being trained to any taste for solid reading, or to an educated conscience about the selection of books. No doubt this was not intended, so it was thought that a Society like St. Anselm's might be of service in bringing books of sound and wholesome reading, whether religious or not, before those who might plead an ignorance about such books or where to get them.

5. St. Anselm's Society aims also at being of use by making and keeping up a catalogue of the works of living Catholic authors, classified according to names and subjects, besides keeping copies of the works themselves, so that they may be in every way accessible. We have a large number of such works, and many of them are entitled to much more study and attention than they generally receive. St. Anselm's Society may be an additional means of keeping them before the public, and should its means increase, it might do a great work by facilitating the reprinting of books that are too valuable to be allowed to drop out of use, or to helping forward the publication of new works.

6. At its first establishment, St. Anselm's Society gave many grants of books, free or at half-price, to prisons, work-houses, asylums, to soldiers, sailors, to orphanages, and other charitable institutions. Several thousands of pounds of books were thus put into the hands of those who could not otherwise obtain them. Applications of this sort are continually made now, but the Society cannot listen to them at present from the smallness of its income compared with the heavy expenses which its re-establishment entails.

Breakspere.

A TALE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHEN the three friends again reached the door of their hotel, Christopher, who was a few steps in advance of the others, lounged into the reading-room to look at the papers, while Max and his sister walked up and down outside for a while, discussing the new projects for the future which Max's interview with the Queen of Calabria opened out to him. Presently he went in to tell the Marchioness of the unexpected meeting he had had, and Gertrude, as she passed upstairs, looked into the room where Christopher was. He was sitting with his head buried in his hands, in an attitude of such deep dejection that she could not refrain from going up to him, and after a glance at the paper before him, on which his gaze was still rivetted, she asked if he had had any bad news?

He started at the sound of her voice, and raising his head, with a faint and sickly smile he drew her attention to the following paragraph :

Fashionable Intelligence.—It is confidently stated in fashionable circles that Sir Walter Cummins, the heir of Mr. Samuel Breakspere, lately deceased at Paris, is about to lead to the altar the young and lovely Miss Beatrice Parr, sole heiress of the colossal fortune of Mr. Dionysius Parr, M.P., the wealthy banker and alderman. This is one of the most brilliant matches that has been announced for two or three seasons.

She read it through slowly, and, as she read it, mingled pity for Christopher and contempt for the mercenary motives by which she supposed Beatrice to be actuated filled her breast. For a moment she kept silence, but perceiving from the strangely agitated expression of her companion's countenance that he was waiting for her to speak, as she laid down the paper she said with a sigh : "After all, it is but the spirit of the day.

We expected too much of poor Beatrice, did we not? Remember what her father was. Take courage, dear friend; it is better so than to find out after marriage one has been mistaken."

He looked at her earnestly and gratefully, and there was more than common interest in his look and manner as he answered:

"Truest and best of friends, if I may be honoured by calling you so——"

"You may indeed, and more than ever now."

The evening of that day descended softly and sweetly on the valley of Rehbrunnen, the last golden rays of the sun lingering lovingly on the grey walls of the Burg, on the limestone crags frowning over the waters of the river, and on the many tinted woods, which this year had retained their foliage unusually long. The groups of visitors, more or less gay or grave, that had dotted the hill sides, enjoying the beauty of the day, had returned to their various hotels to prepare for the *table d'hôte* or to dress for the evening. The herds and hind were coming down from the upland to seek the shelter of the stall, as the night air began to wax frosty. All was a scene of peace and beauty, and invited to repose and contentment. Soon after, the full moon arose above the hills, sending floods of silver light over the scene, bringing out the ancient Burg, the sparkling river, and the quaint church tower in bright relief against the inky shadows of the pine forests and the deeper recesses of the basin.

Christopher was, at his open window, alone in the gathering twilight, and his eye dwelt wearily and wistfully on the beauteous prospect, which, with the sweet tones of a well-trained military band in the far distance, might have soothed his mind in delightful reverie, had it not been beset by a very whirlwind of passion. His was not, however, a nature to be much dazzled or depressed by the smiles or freaks of fortune. He had been brought up, indeed, in the hope that he would inherit the great wealth of his uncle in America, and he had sometimes cherished the thought of how much good it would be in his power to do with such abundant means. But his father was too sensible to let him rely on this expectation, which would have ruined his character and destroyed his energies, and had taught him to look to his own ability and industry as the proper and reliable instruments of success. Therefore, though disappointed and surprised, he had not been cast down

at the announcement that his uncle had left all his fortune to Walter, though the legacy appeared strange and unjust. But the intelligence conveyed in the paper, that Beatrice was about to be united to this same Walter, who thus seemed at every turn the favourite of fortune, and the shadow in his path, had indeed roused the strongest and most dangerous feelings in his nature, and he was at this moment a prey to one of those violent mental contests that decide a lifetime for good or for evil.

He tried to summon up philosophy and the remembrance of his father's sound religious teaching, but the poison instilled by bitter experience of the world's treachery seemed to inflame his worst passions, rousing him to a kind of revolt against authority, conscience, and Deity itself, which had seemed thus to sanction a great wrong. His strong nature was wrung and shaken, and as he stretched an arm over the fair moonlit landscape, he clenched his hand and shook it in defiance at all that soft inviting radiance. Such had life seemed to him; such the bright alluring perspective of early romance, the poetry of his first love. Yet what was there of truth, of really substantial permanence, in all that appearance of beauty and loveliness of fairyland. It was but a play of fancy, an optical delusion, soon to pass away, and leave its victim in chilling shade and gloomy darkness. "What folly," he exclaimed bitterly, "what folly life is! What is it worth? And love, that seems to gild life, of what value is it? It is as evanescent as the brilliancy the moonbeams lend to this valley—a dream from which one awakens to stern and bitter reality!"

Then a fierce struggle took place in his mind between the principles of light and darkness. The spirits of evil and of good waged stern war within him, and kept up a sharp contention. At one time he felt hurried on by feelings of disgust "at love, life, all things," to throw over all the better teachings of his youth, to discard conscience, to laugh at all moral principle, to defy religion, to cast himself headlong into the whirlpool of amusement and dissipation.

When the image of Beatrice came up to his mind, in all its youth and beauty; when he recalled how he had saved her, how she had slighted and scorned him because he was an obscure commoner, without a rent-roll, and now her readiness to receive and wed that scheming heartless charlatan, merely because of his wealth and newly-made honours,—all sense of higher

treasures and nobler titles was for the moment eclipsed within him. He was ready to say: "Evil be thou my good. What avail the empty, useless fancies called truth and justice and honour? Success and show are the only substantial forces in a world where knaves are honoured and traitors triumph. Let us bow down and worship them." The spirit of evil was evidently at that moment triumphant.

An hour or two had already elapsed in this tempestuous state of mind, and the moon was nearing the higher hills, while a large part of the valley was in deeper shade. This change served to symbolize the exit of the contest, for Christopher, in his weakened frame of body and of mind, was unable to resist the impulsion to evil, and starting up he issued rapidly from his room, and went hurriedly by the door of the apartment where he had been wont to pass many hours of peaceful and refreshing converse in the society of his friends. Leaving the hotel, he walked off in the direction of the Kurhaus, to which a palatial gambling-room was then attached, as was the wont in small German principalities. The place was brilliantly lighted, and play had begun. The room was thronged with the devotees to blind Fortune, or with the curious, attracted to the spot to watch the play. There might be seen the reckless Russian *boyar*, staking his millions; the British *roué*, insolent and supercilious; the swaggering French adventurer; aged dowagers, painted and ghastly; and worst of all, young women, once comely, now fierce and haggard, with sharp drawn features, distorted by the demon of play.

Into this vortex of evil Christopher plunged, and entering a circle of adventurers, he staked a considerable part of his remaining pay on the chances of the faro-table. For some time fortune smiled upon him so warmly that he won rapidly, and as he each time staked his winnings his gain was large. When pile after pile of shining gold was raked to his account, his eyes began to flash with excitement; the croupiers stared sternly at him, and an insinuating voice in caressing accents was heard to say in the crowd, "The monotony even of pleasure becomes wearisome; let me engage you to take some refreshment."

Christopher's mouth was parched and dry with fever, and in his reckless mood, careless about the company into which he was thrown, he allowed himself to be led by some Russian gamblers to a symposium at hand, where they plied him with

icéd champagne till his brain was on fire, and all scruples were scattered to the winds.

He needed no prompting to return to the fatal faro-table, and began to stake higher than ever, but, as is so often the way, the temporary interruption seemed to have turned his fortune, and he lost most of his winnings. He persisted, but lost again and again, and at last had nothing more to stake, but as the passion of play was upon him, he was pondering whether he could stake a jewelled decoration he wore on his breast, when a gentle hand was laid on his arm, and a soft voice whispered in his ear, "It is late; come home, Christopher—the night air will harm you."

How had Gertrude discovered where he was, and why had she ventured to follow him? Breakspere felt bewildered and unspeakably abashed, and suffered himself to be led away without a word, his temples throbbing, and his cheek burnt up with fever. In the hotel all was silent, but Chuckles, who was still in attendance on his master, was standing by the door, and to his care Christopher was consigned.

When he awoke in the morning, after broken and unrefreshing slumbers, Max was sitting by his side, anxiously and affectionately watching him. The feverishness was gone, but it left behind great physical prostration, to which was added the depression and weariness caused by the mental conflict of the preceding evening. Nothing could be kinder than the way in which Max did his utmost to cheer and divert his friend, and when, at a later hour, Breakspere was induced to join the rest of the party, no possible allusion was made to the events of the night before, nor could the slightest alteration be detected, even by Christopher's morbid sensitiveness, in Gertrude's manner as she greeted him with her accustomed friendly smile, and begged him to join them in a drive they were about to take to a favourite spot near Rehbrunnen, the ruins of the ancient convent of *Marientwonne*.

The day was one of unusual mildness, and the soft air, the beauty of the scene, and the bright sunshine, seemed to soothe Christopher's spirits and revive his strength. On arriving at the foot of the rocky declivity on which the ruins stand, the whole party left the carriage and slowly made their way to the top, where they found themselves on a platform of considerable extent, commanding a fine view of the valley below. For a moment they stood in mute admiration of the scene, nor did

they notice the advent of another party of visitors, until one of the newly-arrived stepped forward, claiming acquaintance with Breakspere.

"It is surely my old friend Christopher; how glad I am to meet you. However did you come here?"

"Dr. Bogue! what a pleasure to hear your voice again," exclaimed Christopher, warmly grasping the hand the good old Scotchman stretched out to him. "What happy chance has brought *you* here?"

Then Miss Bogue came up, and introductions and mutual explanations followed, and they all descended the slope together.

"You were at Custozza, then, you bad boy?" said the doctor. "I see from your looks those Italian heroes made you feel their prowess."

"Just enough to give merit to the victory, doctor," rejoined Christopher, drawing his friend apart, in order to ask the eager question: "What news can you give me of my father? I never hear from him."

"None at all. In fact, I was going to ask you what had become of him. I have been very ill almost ever since you left England, and now we have come abroad for my health. I had a few lines from him just after my first seizure, complaining of household troubles. He seemed much harassed and depressed. Since then I have heard nothing of him, except that I was told he had left London in ill-health and had gone to Torquay."

Household troubles! What could they be? Something to do with that odious step-mother and that villain Walter! What had happened in his absence? Christopher asked himself, and the colour rushed back to his thin cheeks. Dr. Bogue noted his feverish agitation, and changed the subject of conversation. Then he bade him good-bye, promising to call on him in his hotel on the morrow.

In truth the good doctor felt a little anxious about his old friend's son, and his anxiety was not groundless. The intelligence he had received, added to his previous overwrought condition and great bodily weakness, brought on a terrible attack of fever, and for two weeks Christopher's life hung on a thread. Thanks to the skill of Dr. Franck, aided by the attentive care of Dr. Bogue, who nursed him with fatherly affection, Christopher, who had youth and a strong constitution in his favour, passed the crisis, and began slowly to recover.

Nothing that the most considerate kindness and thoughtful sympathy on the part of his friends could devise was left undone to alleviate the tedium of his illness and divest the mind of the patient from painful topics, but he seemed unable to rest, as he was bent upon going as soon as possible to England to look after his father. Nor could he be induced to abandon the project until Dr. Bogue interposed his authority and positively forbade it. He was himself, he said, returning home immediately—indeed, his journey had only been postponed on account of Christopher's illness—and would undertake to make all inquiries, a task he was much better fitted for, as his patient would for some time be utterly unfit to travel, or to bear any exertion, not to speak of the fogs of the English climate, which, in the critical state of his lungs, would probably prove fatal to him. So, as the Marchioness, whose delicate health compelled her to pass the remainder of the winter in a mild genial air, and who would not hear of returning to Italy, decided to settle herself at Vevay, it was finally agreed that Christopher should accompany her thither, in the hope that he would completely recover from the effects of his wound in the soft air of that sheltered spot. Meanwhile, Max had been induced by the Queen of Calabria to accept a diplomatic charge in the Pannonian service, and was leaving his relatives in order to stay some time in the sphere of royalty, perhaps later on to be sent to a distant post. His sister and aunt saw him depart without regret, feeling sure that this was the most likely means of diverting him from the sombre melancholy which had weighed upon him ever since Custozza.

Dr. Bogue was as good as his word; immediately upon his return to London, he made it his business to find out what had befallen his old friend during the interval. His task proved unexpectedly easy, for in visiting the Consumption Hospital, he happened to come across James Fuggles, who gave him all the information he desired, and much more which he was greatly astonished and distressed to hear. The good Scotchman wrote at once to Christopher, telling him where Mr. Breakspere was; he thought it wisest, however, to conceal from him the painful episode of Crazybank, merely informing him that grief at the suspicion attaching to Christopher, and the persecutions to which Walter subjected him, had produced a despondency verging on the mysterious disease called *mania*, and rendering necessary a temporary absence from home and

complete rest from business. He told him furthermore, that he had obtained a clue to the mystery which, if he succeeded in tracing a servant formerly in Mrs. Breakspere's employ, would, he hoped, enable him to clear Christopher's character, and fasten the guilt on the true culprit. He also confirmed the report of Walter's approaching marriage. "He is engaged," he wrote, "to a young lady named Parr, whose fortune he doubtless covets; she is the niece of a lady with whom I have long been acquainted. The wedding is fixed to take place in the spring." This was all he said, for Gertrude had told him of Christopher's unfortunate attachment to the bride-elect; but to the Marchioness he wrote more explicitly, concluding with a high eulogium on the character and conduct of his young friend.

CHAPTER XXV.

AS soon as Christopher Breakspere was sufficiently recovered to travel, the Marchioness Pescara, who unlike her wont, appeared restless and uneasy, urged the immediate departure of the party for Vevay, where, as has been said, it had been resolved that they should pass the remainder of the winter. Thither accordingly they proceeded by easy stages, and soon found themselves installed in an old chateau, pleasantly situated in a sheltered nook, and comfortable in the interior. Roomy enough it certainly was, almost too spacious for the diminished and melancholy group of persons who now became its occupants. For Max was already gone to a distance, and none of the constant succession of visitors who brought life and gaiety and change to the Villa Pescara, now came to cheer the Marchioness in her seclusion with tidings of the busy world she still loved, though she had long renounced it. Nor did the wide halls and spacious apartments re-echo to the willing steps of the numerous domestics, some of whom—old and attached retainers of the family—were on a footing of affectionate familiarity with their mistress which English hauteur could hardly tolerate, and whose attentive services and kindly care were sorely missed by her in her present suffering state. The presence of the Abbé Delacroix was a comfort; he had returned to France when the Marchioness' household was broken up, and now hastened

to Vevay to rejoin his old friend, to whom his conversation and society gave evident relief and consolation.

Matters went on quietly for a time, until the middle of January, when Pierre, the Marchioness' favourite and most trusted servant, arrived from Italy, where his mistress, whilst retaining him in her service, had left him, with strict injunctions to spare neither time, trouble, or expense to obtain intelligence of her lost son. Pierre's researches had been successful; he had learnt Lorenzo's fate, and the story he had to tell was a sad one. He told how his young master had been struck down on the battlefield by his cousin Max's hand, and though the wound was not a fatal one, yet being found wearing the Garibaldian uniform, he had been taken to the camp of that General, and treated as if he were one of the ruffianly crew of which his forces were mainly composed. Disgusted with his uncongenial surroundings, harassed by the remembrance of his mother's grief, and the thought of the stain still attaching to his honour, the delicately-nurtured and high-spirited young Marquis one night evaded the sentries and effected his escape, ere his wound was thoroughly healed; the excitement of flight, and the fatigue of a long ride brought on an attack of fever, to which he succumbed in the course of a few days. He died at an hospital not far from Verona. During the intervals of delirium, he entreated that a messenger might be sent to apprise his mother of his condition and summon the Abbé Delacroix to his side; one was accordingly despatched, but the Villa Pescara was found to be deserted, and the messenger was not sufficiently interested in his errand to ascertain the whereabouts of its owner.

The Marchioness listened to this recital in tearless silence; it was indeed a crushing blow for a mother to hear such a story respecting her darling son. It would be difficult to say whether anger against Max for his share in her son's death, grief at the loss of her only child, or regret at having left Italy without having ascertained what had become of him, was the feeling at first uppermost in her mind. The shock proved too much for her enfeebled and care-worn frame; she never again left her couch. Feeling herself to be fast sinking, she one day, after a long talk with her trusted friend and adviser, M. Delacroix, sent for Christopher, and, not a little to his surprise, addressed him as follows:

"I have not long to live dear friend, and my failing breath

bids me say what I have to impart in few words. Forgive the frankness of a dying woman. I am anxious about my niece's future; this is my great, my only regret in dying; I love her as a daughter, and I had hoped to leave her a protector in——" She breathed fast and painfully, but soon resumed: "It was my cherished wish and full intention that she should marry Lorenzo, and while he lived, never with my consent should she have wedded another. But that dream is over now; she will be my heir, for I cannot agree to leave any of my property to her brother. I have lately thought I might find a protector for her in you . . . hush, and listen: do not interrupt me, but hear me out, I know all you would say. You are untitled, you are a foreigner, and you have not won her love. I have here"—she placed her hand on a sealed packet—"your patent of nobility as a Count of the Austrian Empire, it was willingly awarded you on account of conspicuous gallantry on the battlefield. This is to satisfy you, not Gertrude and myself, for we know full well that there is no title higher than that of a true gentleman, and that a chivalrous nature is the most valuable of distinctions. I confess I do not like the English people, they are a nation of heretics; but you have been brought up in the true faith, and Dr. Bogue tells me you have borne calumny with patience, and the loss of a promised fortune with equanimity; you have displayed no resentment against those who wronged you, and to forgive injuries is the most difficult duty of a Christian. As to the other point, I know there is no friend my Gertrude esteems so much as you, and such friendship as now exists between you will easily ripen into the tenderer feelings of mutual affection."

The pale face of the aged gentlewoman looked almost beautiful as she spoke, her eyes were fixed upon the countenance of the young man, watching the effect of her words with painful anxiety.

"Dear madam," he replied, "my best of friends, I am overwhelmed by all you say. I know not how to express my gratitude for what you have done for me, still more for the good opinion you have formed of me, one of which I fear I am quite undeserving."

"I know all that you feel, but do not thwart my last wish, my dying request, I pray, I beseech you."

"Should I be right to take advantage of your kindness, and press upon Gertrude a love which she knows I gave to another,

by whom it was spurned? Heaven knows I adore, I almost worship your niece, dear madam, but feel only too keenly my unworthiness."

"Promise, nay swear, to do my dying behest, if Gertrude does not oppose it."

Christopher would fain have asked time for consideration, but he felt he must answer at once. He paused some moments, as a multitude of thoughts crowded upon his mind: he knew his health was still in a very precarious condition, and that at the best, he would never again be fit for active service—he knew too that if there were a woman he could admire and love it was Gertrude, and he acceded to the Marchioness' request. As he bent over her emaciated hand and touched it affectionately with his lips, he said to himself that at any rate it was with Gertrude that the final decision rested.

Reviews.

I.—DR. MORIARTY'S PASTORALS.¹

THE Editors of the *Allocutions and Pastorals* of Dr. Moriarty, the late amiable and accomplished Bishop of Kerry, are to be congratulated both on the excellence of the materials at their disposal and on the efficient way in which they have executed their task.

Eloquent writing is naturally expected from the pen of so distinguished a preacher as Dr. Moriarty, but in these Pastorals and Allocutions we have something more than mere excellence of language. The former Professor of All Hallows shows the depth and solidity of his theological knowledge in these able and concise allocutions, in which he addresses his clergy with such graceful simplicity of style, happily tempered and strengthened with some of those forcible home truths which are not always out of place because they do not happen to be strictly or immediately necessary.

The Synodal addresses to his clergy are framed upon a systematic plan, and convey in brief an excellent and connected summary of some leading points of pastoral theology. They deal with the chief subjects which should occupy the attention of those who devote themselves to the various duties of the parochial ministry: The preaching of the Word of God; zeal, and the rules to be observed in administering the Sacrament of Penance; pastoral vigilance; the care of the sick and dying; devotions to be encouraged—are among the various subjects which are treated with clearness and a practical insight into other various aspects which experience—the experience of an able and highly educated man—alone could give. Many passages of these addresses are very impressive, and when given with the living voice must have been more impressive still.

¹ *Allocutions to the Clergy and Pastorals of the late Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry.* Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1884.

Speaking to his clergy of the high importance of preaching, Dr. Moriarty says :

Do you wish to transmit to the future generations of your people that faith, which through poverty and privation and despite of bloody persecution, your predecessors in the ministry transmitted to you? If so, preach the word, *Prædica verbum*. Do you wish the knowledge of God to be poured abroad abundantly, so that in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah it may fill the earth like the coming waters of the sea? If so, *Prædica verbum*. Do you desire to see your people, clinging to our holy mother the Church, with a love stronger than death, ready to suffer poverty, and even lose their lives in the torments of hunger, rather than leave the bosom of that Mother that brought them forth to Christ? *Prædica verbum*. Do you wish them to be obedient to her laws, observant of her discipline, respectful to her ministers? *Prædica verbum*. Do you desire to see vice uprooted, and virtue flourishing? Do you desire that the whole Christian community should be knit together in one body in Christ by that charity which is the bond of perfection? Then, once more, *Prædica verbum*—preach the word.

Very happy and forcible are the numerous quotations from Scripture which knit together and illustrate the substance of these discourses, arguing a familiarity with the text of Holy Scripture as extensive as it was intimate. The learned Bishop gives in his own use of the sacred text a striking instance of the power which judicious quotations from Holy Writ infuses into a discourse on sacred subjects. Every one who is in any way concerned with ministering to the souls of others will do well to lay to heart the lessons, both of example and precept, that Dr. Moriarty teaches in these addresses. It is not easy to make extracts where so much is worth quoting, especially as such extracts must suffer by being divorced from their context. Perhaps the great and practical importance of the subject will warrant the selection of the following warning, which comes with peculiar force from one occupying Dr. Moriarty's distinguished position :

Guard against a sophism too common with a certain school of theologians whose writings have been much used in this country. I mean the French theologians of the seventeenth century ; it consists in always confounding the *pars rigidior* and the *pars tutior*. We should follow, they say, the safest path. Most decidedly. But that that opinion which is adverse to human liberty and favourable to law, is the safer ! That is specially what I would not generally admit, nay, rather generally deny. . . . If there is question merely of the interpretation of the law, or what is lawful or unlawful, without reference to ulterior

danger, then, generally, the *pars benignior* is also the *pars tutior*, as rendering more easy the law's observance, and removing farther from the danger of mortal sin.

These extracts will suffice to show the practical nature of Dr. Moriarty's discourses, and it would be difficult to find a volume, containing more plain, useful, and straightforward advice, to commend especially to the reading of young priests entering upon their responsible duties. Of the Pastorals it is unnecessary to say anything: they are more historic, inasmuch as they refer to phases which have since passed away. But we cannot conclude this too brief notice of a valuable volume without echoing the words of the Editors, who in their Preface express their conviction that the suppression of Dr. Moriarty's writings would be a positive loss to the priests of Ireland and of other countries.

2.—LUTHER : AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.¹

It will be a strange thing if Dr. Verres' book does not become a "classical" work on the Life of Luther. It is pleasantly written and the style is attractive. It displays a careful research and thorough knowledge of the subject. Every statement has been weighed in the balance before being made. Above all the moderation of the book is quite remarkable—quite wonderful we should have said, were it not for the sense of justice and the charity which characterize the author. There is not a word of declamation or an unproved insinuation against Luther's moral character. There is a wise reticence which renders the book in general free from any passages which could give offence, despite the subject of which it treats and the man that it describes. The existing corruptions in the Church, and even at the Papal Court, are neither denied nor slurred over. The result of all this is that as a book of controversy it is invaluable. It is far more conclusively damning to the character of Martin Luther than if it denounced his impieties and grossness in pages of rhetorical declamation. It presents to us a most impartial picture of Luther as he is shown to be by his works and words, and the fact that it quotes good as well as bad, instead of searching for the coarsest and foulest of his many coarse and foul sayings, and omits the worst of them

¹ *Luther : an Historical Portrait.* By Dr. Verres. London : Burns and Oates.

for decency's sake, is its best recommendation, and makes us the more able to appreciate how bad he was.

To begin with his monastic life. Dr. Verres tells us how the great Reformer's miseries first arose. He became a monk on impulse, without any real vocation, in a fright at the sudden death of a friend. Inside the walls of the monastery he never learned to be humble and docile. He committed the mistake, so often fatal to young religious, of practising all sorts of foolish austerities, contrary to the advice of his Superiors. This naturally produced discontent and despondency, and his mind became ill at ease and torn with scruples. This fervour did not last long. Exposed by his natural disposition to strong temptations, he courted instead of avoiding the occasions of them. To judge by the following story told of him by Wolfgang Agricola, when he was studying at Erfurt (1507-8) he, at a very early period, was treading the downward path with reckless steps.

Whilst Luther was studying at Erfurt, he used to get leave from the Superior of the monastery to visit Spalatinus, who lived in the town, apparently to study with him: but the widow who was his friend's landlady, had a pretty daughter, whom he liked so much that she had to sit near him and he taught her lacemaking, which he had learned at home: and when he looked at the girl, he sighed and frequently said to Spalatinus, "O Spalatine, Spalatine, thou canst not believe, how I have this pretty girl in my heart: I will not die till I manage to woo a pretty girl." To which Spalatinus answered: "Brother Martin, this will never do: remember thou art a monk!" But Luther said: "What does it matter to me?" When at last there was too much of the lacemaking business, the mother forbade the house to the monk (p. 216).

After this we are not surprised to hear that he would sometimes omit his Office for weeks, afterwards attempting to atone for the neglect by reciting in one day the parts omitted during the previous weeks. Then the delusion came in that God does everything for us and men need not even cooperate. This led to presumption and self-deception, his vigorous mind was ill at ease and craved some external activity to lay the painful workings of his soul.

In 1511 he was sent on some mission to Rome, and came away full of indignation at the state of things there. There was some ground for the bad impression he received: worldliness and worse than worldliness was rife in high places, but the general corruption of which he afterwards spoke was an invention or a gross exaggeration, springing from his hatred

of the Church's yoke. At all events, we hear nothing of it at the time, and the stories he professes to believe were far too improbable and absurd for a man of Luther's ability to be deceived by them. He accepted or professed to accept, for instance, the fable of Pope Joan, and other similar fictions, some of which at least he must have known to be false.

Disloyalty to Rome invariably leads to a dissatisfaction with the Church's doctrine. The secret rebel loses the clearness of his mental vision in matters of faith, and having forfeited the guidance of the Holy Spirit, takes kindly to heretical propositions and unsound theses. Luther was an object of just suspicion to his Superiors before he took up the cudgels against Indulgences. But it was not until the preaching of Tetzel gave him an opportunity for assailing the Church's teaching that he raised the standard of revolt by the ninety-five theses nailed to the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg. These were carefully guarded and their errors veiled under ambiguous language, but many of them were ill-sounding to Catholic ears and some were positively erroneous. This was the letting out of the water, and thenceforward the muddy stream of Luther's revolt flowed on with increasing force and volume. We leave Dr. Verres to tell the oft-told story, and merely call the reader's attention to the method of treatment of one or two of the most striking and familiar epochs in the Reformer's life.

We must just say a word about the Dominican, Tetzel. He seems to have been an excellent theologian. Hefele says of him: "Whoever has read Tetzel's antitheses must needs confess, that this man understood very well the difficult doctrine about Indulgences." "His theses were distinguished by theological correctness and preciseness of expression," says our author (p. 62). Whether he was prudent and discreet is another matter. He was charged with leading an immoral life, but this is probably a calumny. He died, it is said, of a broken heart, at his monastery at Leipzig, soon after the religious revolution broke out.

We naturally turn with interest to Luther's residence at the castle of the Wartburg. There he believed that he had numerous visits from the devil, who, to judge from his own testimony, treated him with a rude familiarity which shows how completely he regarded the unhappy monk as his slave and subject. There he translated the New Testament; there he wrote some of his most venomous pamphlets. His description of his own life

there is this: "Here I sit idle and muzzy all day long. I, who ought to be fervent in spirit, am full of the fervour of fleshly lust, idleness, sloth, and drowsiness."² Dr. Verres says nothing of the interviews with the devil, or the inkstand he is said to have hurled at him in their friendly disputes. It is this avoidance of the legendary which gives to the book its great value.

The horrors of the revolt of the peasants have often been laid at Luther's door. Dr. Verres justly concedes to him that he certainly never wished or intended these atrocities. The judicial blindness which had fallen on the apostate and the rebel prevented him from seeing that the poor, misguided, ignorant peasantry were only carrying into practice the doctrines he taught. "All who co-operate," he says, "and risk their lives, possessions, and honour in the destruction of the bishoprics and of the power of the Bishops, they are dear children of God and the right sort of Christians. . . . If they will not hear God's Word, if they rave and rage with excommunicating, burning, murdering, and all sorts of evil, what is more just than that a strong rebellion should sweep them from the face of the earth?" When he uses incendiary language such as this, who can hold him guiltless of the results which followed?

We pass over the chapters which discuss Luther's views on matrimony and his scandalous permission of bigamy to the Landgrave of Hesse, to say a word about the concluding scenes of his life. He had been eminently successful in his work of destruction, in pulling down the altars of God, in opening the floodgates of licentiousness and immorality. He himself was frightened at the havoc that he had wrought, and attempted to meet it by his usual coarse and violent invective. To divert himself, he commenced fresh denunciations of the Pope and all things Papal, and in the last year of his life wrote the most scurrilous of all his filthy Billingsgate productions, entitled, *Against Popery founded by Satan*. Some of the expressions quoted by Dr. Verres are too bad to be reproduced in our pages, and yet he does not quote the worst. It was the crowning work of the great Reformer's life; the last expression of the fury and rage against all things holy and sacred which inspired him. In the following February (1546) he was taken ill at Eisleben, and shortly before his death he relates that he had an apparition of the devil, who appeared before him, and

² "Ego otiosus hic et crapulosus tota die sedeo. Qui fervere spiritu debeo, ferveo carne, pigritia, libidine, otio, somnolentia" (pp. 109, 110).

with insulting and filthy gestures taunted him with his want of success. A day or two afterwards he became worse, and after re-asserting his belief in the revelation of truth made to him, the miserable man died after a short agony.

Dr. Verres' book is one which our readers can rely upon as giving a fair and impartial view of Luther's work and times. "There are many bright traits in him," he says in one of the concluding chapters, in which his character is portrayed. He had great natural virtues, and these are generously conceded to him. But unhappily natural virtues, talents, force of will, kindliness, liberality, were all devoted to the devil's service. We are not surprised to find our author arriving at the conclusion that his most striking fault, the parent of all his other faults, was his unbounded pride. It was the old story, *Non serviam*, and this was Luther's ruin.

3.—OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL.¹

The Very Rev. Mgr. Dillon, of the Archdiocese of Sydney, was advised, after twenty years of missionary labour, to seek a well-earned rest in a milder climate, and the present volume is the fruit of his holiday researches. It is a history of the famous and ancient Sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Counsel in Genazzano, not very far from Rome. This history will be interesting to all who love the Mother of God and are desirous of extending devotion to her.

Genazzano is near, if not on, the site of the ancient Præneste. Readers of classical literature need not be informed of the Floral Festivities which took place annually in Latium under the Empire. In these festivities decency and modesty were destroyed, and youth debauched and brutalized. Yet in the designs of Providence, the very spot, as Mgr. Dillon shows, where the unholy rites of the Sabine goddess Flora, or of Venus, were celebrated, the purity of the Virgin Mother becomes the object of Catholic worship. The licentiousness of the locality increased under the Emperors until the conversion of Constantine, when he gave the grounds on which the games used to take place to Pope St. Sylvester. St. Sylvester's successor, St. Mark, made the place Christian; built the first church, and dedicated it to

¹ *The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel.* A History of the ancient Sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Counsel in Genazzano. By Mgr. Dillon. London: Burns and Oates.

Our Lady of Good Counsel. After the lapse of many centuries it passed into the hands of the Colonnas, and we find them in 1356 handing over the church to the care of the Augustinians. The 25th of April continued to be in Christian times the great feast day at Genazzano, just as in Pagan times it was devoted to the homage of impure goddesses. And on this very day it pleased Heaven to give the simple Italian people a wonderful reward of their predilection for the Church of Our Lady of Good Counsel. About four p.m., a large crowd were gathered in the Piazza of Santa Maria, and were astonished to hear strains of celestial harmony.

Soon far above the highest houses, above the church spires and the lofty castle turrets, they beheld a beautiful white cloud darting forth vivid rays of light in every direction, amidst the music of Heaven and a splendour that obscured the sun. It gradually descended, and to their amazement finally rested upon the farthest portion of the unfinished wall of the Chapel of St. Biagu . . . Gradually the rays of light ceased to dart, the cloud began to clear gently away, and then, to their astonishment, there remained disclosed a most beautiful object. It was an image of our Lady, holding the Divine Child Jesus in her arms, and she seemed to smile upon them and to say: "Fear not, I am your Mother, and you are and shall be my beloved children" (p. 79).

This is the origin of the devotion paid to the image of Our Lady of Good Counsel. The Madonna of Genazzano is a fresco: it has remained in the spot where it may be seen to-day, for four hundred and sixteen years, and how many centuries it existed before no man can tell. The very existence of this fragile image seems a miracle; the preservation of its colours is a second, and there is a third, greatest of all. It remains distant from the wall without apparent support (pp. 86, 87). But where did this wonderful image come from? Straight from Paradise, as the simple folk of Genazzano believed? or had it been a denizen of other climes, and did it journey to this fair spot, near the Alban hills, even as the Holy House travelled from Nazareth to Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia to Loreto? The answer to this question must be sought in the interesting pages of Mgr. Dillon. Albania was as deeply grieved to lose the holy Image as Genazzano was pleased to receive it, and there are some very touching verses given in p. 231 expressive of the deep desire of the Albanians to possess once again the much-loved image.

Mgr. Dillon devotes a chapter to the miracles performed at her shrine, another to the devotion of Popes for the Virgin Mother of Good Counsel; and we must specially recommend to our readers Chapter XXIII., on the devotion of the Italian people for the Blessed Virgin. The chapter will amply repay perusal, and we are much pleased to find Mgr. Dillon testifying that the vast bulk of the Italians have no sympathy with the plunder and sacrilege of their rulers. The masses in the country, removed from the danger of large towns, are Catholic to the core.

There is an Appendix on Roman Ecclesiastical Education, which we read with pleasure, and quite agree with the author that Rome possesses advantages for theological studies which no other place can ever hope to possess. Rome is the best training ground for the young ecclesiastic. We wish Mgr. Dillon's book every success. May it spread more and more devotion to our Lady!

4.—BROWNSON'S WORKS.¹

This, the tenth volume of the collected works of Dr. Brownson, contains a series of essays on "Christianity and Heathenism in Politics and Society," which appeared in *Brownson's Quarterly Review* in the years 1845—52. They were written in a very stirring period of the history of our century. The events and the movements that preceded and followed the great revolutionary crash of 1848, forced on the attention of all thoughtful men the question of the position of the Church in a world, that seemed to be so rapidly and widely changing its social and political organization. Brownson, writing in America and for American readers, kept close watch upon the currents of thought and action in Europe, and, even where he has somewhat misjudged the times and the event has falsified his prediction, his essays are well worth reading. They have a value independent of the immediate occasion that suggested them, and they deal with topics that have still a deep interest for all Catholics who watch the signs of the times. It is striking to see how much of them is taken up with events and men in Europe. But, as might be expected, even here Brownson aims chiefly at drawing a lesson for Catholics in America, where he is not endeavouring

¹ *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson.* Collected and arranged by Henry F. Brownson. Vol. x. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse, 1884.

to set right some false view of his countrymen as to the meaning of movements in progress on this side of the Atlantic. Some of the essays deal directly with American questions, but even here the writer's appeal to principles of world-wide application gives to his work a lasting interest and value. Thus the remarkable essay on "Native Americanism," originally published in his Review early in 1845, does much more than expose the short-sighted follies of a movement that strove, as he says, not against admitting foreigners to the rights of American citizenship, but against admitting a certain class of foreigners, namely, Irish Catholics. He seizes upon the anti-Catholic spirit which was the real soul of the movement, and argues that so far from Catholicity being a danger to popular and Republican institutions, the best hope for the Great Republic must lie in the increase in numbers of her Catholic citizens. And he concludes:

Here is our hope for our Republic. We look for our safety to the spread of Catholicity. We render solid and imperishable our free institutions just in proportion as we extend the Kingdom of God among our people, and establish in their hearts the reign of justice and charity. And here then is our answer to those who tell us Catholicity is incompatible with free institutions. *We tell them that they cannot maintain free institutions without it.* It is not a free Government that makes a free people, but a free people that makes a free Government, and we know no freedom but that wherewith the Son makes free.

In the same bold spirit he tells the anti-Catholic agitators that all they can say and do causes him no anxiety, he is so certain that the future of the New World belongs to the Church. No doubt he makes mistakes, he sometimes overstrains an argument, or over-estimates the importance of a fact. With many other good men, he seems to have held in 1849 that a strong and lasting reaction against the anti-Christian forms of revolution had begun. But he never claimed to be infallible even in the editorial sense; and one cannot read far in any of his essays without feeling the power of the man, his wide reach of view, his keen critical faculty, and above all his intense loyalty to the Church. For him the great battle of the world is only the old strife between heathenism and Christianity in a new form, and he calls on his fellow-Catholics to remember that much of the thought even of so-called Christians of our day is full of heathen naturalism. In one of his essays he shows how the same spirit of heathenism has left its mark on much of the

old popular literature of Europe, and he remarks in passing how the charming pages of the writer of *Mores Catholici* give us a false picture of the middle ages, and suggest false conclusions, mainly because they leave this element in the picture out of account. This remark is characteristic of the man. If at times he himself exaggerates, he is at least anxious to avoid one-sided exaggeration even in defence of the cause he has most at heart. Thus, in his essay on "Paganism in Education," he rejects the views set forth by the Abbé Gaume in his once famous pamphlet, *Le Ver Rougeur des Sociétés Modernes*. Consistent as he really is with himself, we can well imagine that he was often misinterpreted and misunderstood. For all that is lawless and anti-Christian in European revolution he has only condemnation, but his condemnation is that of a man who is also ready to condemn "the ordinary shallow and selfish declamation of Conservatives against modern revolutionary movements." And he continues:

The only Conservatism we can respect is that which frankly acknowledges the wrong, and seeks by proper means to redress it wherever it finds it. It is after all less against revolutions that we would direct the virtuous indignation of our Conservative friends, now that the reaction has become strong, than against the misgovernment, the tyranny, the vices and the crimes, the heartlessness, the cruelty, the neglect of the poor by those who should love and succour them, or the wrongs inflicted on them, which provoke revolutions and give Satan an opportunity to possess the multitude, and pervert their purest sentiments and their most generous enthusiasm to evil. Revolution was no fitting remedy for the evils which the system of secular government, attained to its full growth in Louis the Fourteenth, had generated. It was the remedy of madness or wild despair. But the evils had grown beyond all reasonable endurance. They outraged alike natural benevolence and Christian charity. Let not the friends of religion and order have censures only for those who sought madly to remove them by revolutions, and none for those whose vices and crimes caused them, lest they render religion and order odious to all men of human hearts.

This is a wise warning, sometimes needed by Catholic writers in these times of fierce strife with the Revolution. But words like these must sometimes have startled more timid and less clear-headed men. We must conclude by heartily recommending these essays to our readers. Even where one disagrees with their author, there is generally something to learn from him, and throughout his essays are so full of aptly expressed thought that no brief review like this can do justice to them.

5.—SHAKESPEARE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CATHOLIC RELIGION.¹

Dr. Raich's view of this celebrated controversy may be gathered from his title page. "Shakespeare s'il était quelque chose, était Catholique," says Chateaubriand, and Dr. Raich has chosen these words for the motto of his book. For some reason or other the question of the poet's religion seems to be debated more vigorously in Germany than in England. M. Rio's rather extravagant work, which has never, we believe, found an English translator, appeared in German soon after the publication of the French original. Since then the well-known critics, Bernays and K. Elze, have on two or three different occasions attacked his conclusions, while, on the other side, several Catholic writers of eminence have come forward prepared in whole or in part to defend them. Of these latter Dr. Raich is the most recent. His book is a full, temperate, but at the same time powerfully written statement of what we may call the Catholic side of the controversy. It does not advance much that is new, neither does it pretend to do so, but as a summary of the facts and arguments which have been quoted in favour of Shakespeare's Catholicity, as a discussion of what the writer calls his *Moral-system*, and of the religious bearing of his plays, we may recommend it warmly to all for whom the discussion possesses any interest. Even those who, like ourselves, may think the writer's conclusions hardly justified by the evidence he produces, will always find his remarks sensible, and his opinions worthy of consideration.

We cannot perhaps better give the reader an idea of the general scope of the work than by translating a passage from the concluding chapter, which sums up the chief results of his investigations.

Admitting that the external evidence is not conclusive, and turning to the plays themselves, our author says :

In the first place the question arises : How can we explain the remarkable attitude of the poet relatively to the numerous representatives of the clergy of the different Churches, if he were himself a Protestant ? In his Histories, as well as in the free creations of his poetic genius, the Catholic priesthood, and in particular the religious orders, are without a single exception treated with respect and honour,

¹ *It Shakespeare's Stellung zur Katholischen Religion.* Von Dr. J. M. Raich Mainz, 1884.

while some individual characters among them are idealized with all the marks of the poet's especial predilection. The same is true of his nuns. On the other hand, the ministers of Protestantism are only held up to ridicule.

Towards the Puritans accordingly, the most distinctive type of English Protestantism, his attitude is one of hostility, while in the Catholic Church he finds no subject for reproach even in the smallest particular.

He has a clear view of the Church's doctrine, he follows its practices into the most minute detail, and knows how to apply them correctly, without ever allowing himself to be betrayed into a blunder. Whence can Shakespeare have derived this information, if he did not suck it in in his infancy at his mother's breast?

His views about the Bible and tradition, about free-will and conscience, his whole system of morality, his ideas as to the conversion and justification of the Christian during life and on his death-bed, have been derived from the Catholic catechism, the embodied doctrine of the Council of Trent. On the other hand he sets himself in all these matters in evident antagonism to Luther, to Calvin, and to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Established Church of England. As against this Anglican rule of faith, he extends his protection to Purgatory, to the veneration of saints, to Catholic asceticism, and Catholic methods of prayer.

Such being the tone of his mind, he stands in marked contrast to the Protestant dramatists of his day, who betray their Protestantism by their imperfect knowledge and their hostile spirit, whenever they trespass upon the spiritual province of the Church.

If we have a fault to find with Dr. Raich, it is that he rather strains his arguments, and that he does not state the weak points of his own case with sufficient frankness. As to Shakespeare's general sympathy with the doctrines of the Church we quite agree with him, but that he is true to it in the most minute particulars we are not so satisfied. For instance, no play shows greater traces of the Catholic *Moralsystem* than *Hamlet*. Still it is hardly a Catholic idea, we contend, that one of the holy souls should rise from the flames of Purgatory (Dr. Raich makes it a great point that the ghost comes from *Purgatory*) to impress upon his offspring the Christian duty of revenge. "Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder" is the ghost's express injunction. The Catechism of the Council of Trent would surely have taught Shakespeare something better than this. Again, the author does well, we think, in calling attention to the wonderful ascetical insight shown in *Measure for Measure*. But the

conclusion of the play almost spoils all. The novice Isabella, whose noble detachment from the world has excited our admiration, is rewarded by dramatic justice with the hand of the duke in marriage, and presumably leaves her convent for the world again. So, too, this same good duke, after hearing confessions in the habit of a monk, consoles Claudio in his fear of death with the thought that death is after all no more than a sleep, an idea which appears again in *Hamlet* with the doubt of a dream behind it—"To sleep—perchance to dream"—and is repeated in *The Tempest* without any qualification at all. Further, it is a matter of surprise that if Shakespeare was really so conscientious in his veneration for religious, he should have allowed himself anywhere to quote the scurrilous saying about the "nun's lip and the friar's mouth." Above all, we should like more evidence than Dr. Raich's short chapter affords as to the contrast between Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The poet Spenser certainly, in spite of his hatred of Rome, retains abundant traces of the spirit of the older faith, and Fletcher, the son of one of Elizabeth's bishops, goes far beyond the great dramatist in his attacks upon the Puritans.

However, Dr. Raich's first object, as he tells us in his preface, is to show that there is no intrinsic absurdity in speaking of Shakespeare as a Catholic. In this no candid reader can deny that he is successful, and with a large margin to spare. Some of his chapters, as, for instance, those on the three plays, *King John*, *Henry the Fifth*, and *Henry the Eighth*, are excellent. Still, the showing that Shakespeare may not improbably have been a Catholic is a very different matter from proving that he was one. If Dr. Raich would only let us substitute for Chateaubriand's dictum the assertion that Shakespeare, whether he had any religion or not, was certainly no Protestant, we should go with him very heartily indeed. Never did religious bias lead a clever critic into a greater absurdity than when it prompted Professor Dowden to claim Shakespeare as the representative genius of Protestantism. Carlyle was a man whose views were limited enough in all that concerned the Catholic Church, but even he had eyes to see further than this.

The author of this work seems to have taken great pains to read up all the literature of his subject, but there are still one or two books we might have expected a reference to. One of these is Bishop Wordsworth's *Shakespeare and the Bible*, which

records many fancied indications of the poet's Protestantism. They are none of them of any great importance, but they might be worth a passing note. Of infinitely greater value is Mr. Simpson's discussion of the whole question of Shakespeare's religion in one of the volumes of the *Rambler*. To Mr. Simpson is almost entirely due the importance which the question has since acquired, for from his articles was taken all that was really valuable in M. Rio's book. He continued to support the same view to the end of his life, and the explanation of the "evening mass" difficulty, which Dr. Raich quotes at second hand, was originally due to him.

6.—A LADY'S EXPERIENCES IN RUSSIA.¹

The title of this book must not mislead the reader into the belief that he has before him an addition to the numerous volumes of travels—more or less interesting—which figure so largely in Mr. Mudie's catalogue. It consists of some slight and unpretending, but pleasing and well-drawn sketches of Russian life and manners, from the pen of a lady, who having lost the bulk of her property in the Franco-German War, was compelled to leave her relatives in Paris, and, a widow at the early age of twenty-two, to turn her talents to good account, by seeking employment as governess in a foreign country. She was purposing reluctantly to direct her steps towards our shores, where so large a number of her country-people had already taken refuge, when she happened to hear that a former school-fellow had obtained an excellent and lucrative situation in St. Petersburg, and to her she accordingly applied for advice and assistance. The advice of this friend may be epitomized in the single word "come," and this advice Madame de Grival prepared promptly to follow; it was the depth of winter, she was travelling alone, on an utterly unknown route, no wonder then if the heart of this brave little lady sometimes failed her. No one who has been in circumstances at all similar to hers can fail to sympathize with her feelings when, on her arrival at St. Petersburg, the driver of the *isvotchick*, muttering some words she understood not, set her down in the square where her friend resided, and left her to find out the house as best she could.

¹ *Voyage sur les bords de la Neva.* Par Madame de Grival. Paris: Société Générale de Librairie Catholique, 1883.

I found myself [she says] alone in a street resembling our Rue de Rivoli, night had already fallen, and I sought in vain amidst the gloom to discover a policeman from whom to obtain the information I needed. As I walked along slowly I kept repeating the lesson a travelling companion had taught me, endeavouring to pronounce with the correct accent the words, *Pinsionn Lemianine* (Pension de Mlle. Lemianine). My trouble was in vain; the looked-for deliverer failed to put in an appearance. The house before which I stopped was not in the least like a school, in fact, it was a provision-warehouse. I looked further; there were nothing but shops and shops again, in which I always desried the same rough-looking men, dressed in *caftans*, with long hair and thick beards. It was useless to attempt making myself understood by them, so I addressed myself to a passer-by: *Pinsionn Lemianine?* I inquired, with what I hoped was an excellent Russian accent. *Nîc ponimaïou*—"I do not understand," was the only reply. Three or four times did I renew the attempt, receiving each time the same answer. Of all the numerous passers-by, not one seemed to understand French. A horrible dread came over me, lost as I was in this interminable street, not knowing a word of Russian, and perceiving no one capable of extricating me from my forlorn position. All the shops were closed with the exception of those where eatables were sold, and certainly the drivers of the hired vehicles standing in the street, who looked like great, ill-made women, with their long skirts sweeping the ground, and fastened in with a belt at the waist, could not help me much. My fears increased every moment, my spirits fell below zero; I seemed to myself the most imprudent, rash, foolish woman on the face of the earth (pp. 43, 44).

At length an officer who happened to pass, volunteered, in answer to Madame de Grival's despairing appeal, to be her guide, and her dilemma was at an end. We leave it to the reader to learn for himself how cordial was the reception she met with from her friend, and how she ere long succeeded in obtaining an excellent appointment in the family of a princess, the education of whose only daughter she undertook to complete. During the two years spent in this family, Madame de Grival had every opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the Russian people as they really are, the Russians *at home*, as they can only be seen and known by one who resides in their midst, not by the traveller who at the best can only obtain a cursory and superficial knowledge of the country through which he passes. Those who are strangers to Russian life will find a great deal of information in the pages of this book, given in an attractive and pleasing form, without any dry statistics or tedious descriptions. We will quote the account of a visit

she made to a Russian presbytery whilst staying at the country estate of the prince :

After the Mass was concluded, when the priest gave us the cross to kiss, he begged us with an urgency that would admit of no denial, to honour his house with a visit. . . . Entering a comfortable-looking dwelling, we are ushered into a spacious apartment which serves the purpose of both dining and drawing-room. On the tea-table, which is covered with a cloth of snowy whiteness, stands the smoking *samovar*, while around it are tastefully arranged various kinds of sweet pastry and other delicacies of household manufacture. The priest, elegantly attired in a brown silk cassock, did the honours of the tea, ably seconded by his wife *the popadia*, and his daughter, whose musical propensities were indicated by an open piano.

The prince had, fortunately for him, taken the precaution of saying: "Very little tea for me if you please," and we were severely punished for not having exercised a like prudent foresight. In this hospitable house the cups resembled basins, and were, moreover, filled to the very brim. We were forced to drink every drop under pain of offending these good people, whose ideas of manners are not exactly aristocratic. My pupil and I made heroic efforts; we grew first pink, then red, next we became crimson, and finally our countenances assumed a purple hue. We glanced at each other as if to say: Courage! a few more struggles and it will be over! At last it came to an end, Heaven be praised! I reminded the prince that time was getting on, and so we took leave, and entering our carriage drove to the Catholic church (pp. 290, 291).

In conclusion it must be remarked that Madame de Grival owed her success, in a great measure, to her own qualities, the charm of her manner, her tact, and happy power of adapting herself to the circumstances in which she was placed, and the persons with whom she was thrown. Something of her own charm she imparts to her *souvenirs*, and we anticipate with pleasure the fulfilment of her half-promise to publish another volume at a future period. So in parting we echo her own words, and bid her *au revoir, pas adieu*.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Father Nieremberg's *Difference between the Temporal and Eternal*¹ is one of those solid spiritual books which gives evidence at the same time of the holiness, the learning, and the practical experience of the writer in the work of an Apostle. In the sketch of his life by Father Russell which is prefixed to the new edition, we read that he gave four hours every day to prayer, and at the same time taught theology and Sacred Scripture with wonderful success, heard confessions, visited the hospitals, and wrote a large number of spiritual and other works. The best known among his writings are *The Adoration in Spirit and in Truth* and *The Difference between the Temporal and Eternal*. The former has been re-printed in London, and Messrs. Gill have just issued a new edition of the latter, under the revision of Father Matthew Russell, S.J. It is a reprint of the old translation by Sir Vivian Molyneux, published in 1671, with some slight corrections. The quaintness of the style is exactly suited to the character of the book. Father Nieremberg's works are full of illustrative and most striking stories, which can hardly fail to make an impression on the reader, and to convey the truths they are intended to teach in the way most likely to produce lasting fruit. They are excellent for reading in the refectory of religious houses, and we can especially recommend this carefully revised issue of *The Temporal and Eternal* for this purpose.

A new edition of Mgr. de Ségur's succinct and solid little treatise on the Freemasons² is very well timed in answer to the Holy Father's desire that, by spoken and written exposure of

¹ *The Difference between Temporal and Eternal*. Translated from the Spanish of Father J. E. Nieremberg, S.J., by Sir Vivian Molyneux. New edition, revised by Rev. M. Russell. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

² *Les Francs-Maçons*. Ce qu'ils sont, ce qu'ils font, ce qu'ils veulent. Par Mgr. de Ségur. Paris: Librairie St. Joseph, 112, Rue de Rennes.

their ill-doing, all good Catholics should be warned against them. Mgr. de Ségur deals exclusively with the religious and moral danger resulting from the spread of the sect, putting aside altogether the social and political mischief they do. He gives in detail the various degrees, the ceremonies, and the oaths of the Freemasons, and points out with telling force that, even when Deists in name, the God they worship is the God of Voltaire, Rousseau, Renan, and Garibaldi, not the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Les Francs-maçons* is sold post free for thirty centimes (threepence), and the fact that this is the sixty-first edition is the best proof of its excellence.

The Devotion to the Infant Jesus has a special attraction for many holy souls, and Father Sebastian, one of the Irish Passionists, has conceived the happy idea of putting together a Manual of this Devotion³ for their use. It commences with a series of forty-four good practical considerations more or less bearing upon the Sacred Infancy. After the Ordinary of the Mass there follows the Proper of the Mass for the Sundays and feasts relating to the same subject, and the volume concludes with a number of Devotions directed to the same end. There is a holy simplicity pervading this useful little book which will be its best recommendation to those who make use of it, and it contains many beautiful prayers and pious thoughts.

*The Spirit of St. Teresa*⁴ is a collection of some of the most characteristic of the writings and sayings of the Saint, followed by a Novena of Meditations suitable as a preparation for her feast. The first portion of the book consists of a series of prayers or exclamations of the soul to God suitable for short meditations. The second portion explains in her own words what is meant by a life of prayer, its dangers, its aids, its fruits, its joys. For the spiritual reading of the members of a religious community or of pious people living in the world, nothing could be better than the almost inspired teaching of this great Saint. Her own life was the practice of the doctrine she lays down for others, and those who would follow in her steps will do well to study day by day some portion of the lessons by which she learned the secret of perfection.

We all like to look forward to the Triumph of the Church,

³ *Manual of the Infant Jesus.* By Father Sebastian, Passionist. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

⁴ *The Spirit of St. Teresa.* Translated and arranged by the Author of *The Life of St. Teresa.* London: Burns and Oates.

and are inclined to look favourably on any prophet who will announce it to us. Messrs. Richardson have just republished the Prophecies of St. Malachy and other Saints and holy persons respecting events still in the womb of the future.⁵ Every one will read them with interest, and though many of them are dubious and others vague in the extreme, yet they suggest grounds of hope which we pray God may be fulfilled. Catholics need all the encouragement they can get, and we are grateful to any one who finds reason for hoping that the Triumph of the Church is near at hand.

*Drifting Leaves*⁶ is a collection of thoughtful little poems, evincing an earnest spirit of heart-felt piety. Many of them appear to have been written at the chief seasons of the Church's year, and are in harmony with the spirit of each. Some of the best of all of them were inspired by the month of May and by the devotion of the writer to our Blessed Lady. We are glad to welcome from Catholic America such signs of literary activity and progress, and hope that the need of religious literature there may induce many to undertake the task of supplying the want.

Bishop Ullathorne has published an excellent discourse on Drunkenness,⁷ pointing out in eloquent and striking language the terrible miseries of intemperance. In spite of all the noble efforts made to check it, "the land," as he says, still "reels with drunkenness." But it is a consolation to know that little by little it is diminishing. In the upper class it is now rare, and among the poor certainly less prevalent than it used to be.

Every one knows when Hospital Saturday and Hospital Sunday come round, but their origin is not so plain. A pamphlet⁸ lately published discusses their first beginning, and gives some useful suggestions for making the money collected more useful to the hospitals. It is to Canon Miller of Birmingham that we owe Hospital Sunday, while the first Hospital Saturday collection was made in Liverpool in 1871.

*The Little Lamb*⁹ is a short and simple tale for young

⁵ *Prophecies of St. Malachy and other Saints concerning the Triumph of the Catholic Church.* London: Richardson.

⁶ *Drifting Leaves.* By M. E. Henry. New York: Catholic Publication Society.

⁷ *A Sermon against Drunkenness.* By Bishop Ullathorne. London: Burns and Oates.

⁸ *Hospital Saturday and Hospital Sunday.* By W. C. Burdett. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.

⁹ *The Little Lamb.* By Canon Schmid. Translated by M. E. W. Graham. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1884.

children, showing the advantages attendant on right doing, and the generosity with which virtuous actions are sometimes rewarded even in this life. A stray lamb found by a little girl on a cold dark night, proves the source of good fortune to herself and others; it procures her kind and wealthy friends, it is the means of recovering long-lost relatives, in short, it becomes a medium of blessing and prosperity to the whole neighbourhood. The tale is full of incidents, and every incident affords occasion for some moral teaching; the upshot of the whole being that goodness, piety, and virtue are the only qualities which can render us truly happy, rich, and estimable. One excellent point about the tale is that it presents only examples of virtue, and not instances of vice, to the youthful reader.

We have received from America a succinct classical mythology,¹⁰ containing all that well informed persons are expected to know respecting the ancient gods and goddesses. It is ingeniously arranged as a game, the account of each of the deities or heroes being printed on a separate card, and the cards distributed among the players in such a way that those taking part in the game would easily and naturally acquire the knowledge desired. Everything objectionable is carefully excluded, and it has the recommendation of having been composed for the author's own children. At the head of each card is an engraving of the personage whose history is related upon it.

¹⁰ *The Game of Mythology.* By Mrs. N. T. Cooke. Published by Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati, Ohio.

II.—MAGAZINES.

There are no second or third orders affiliated to the Society of Jesus, but in the place of these, the Congregations or Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin for men are a widespread institution of inestimable value. In connection with the Papal Brief granting a Plenary Indulgence on the occasion of their approaching Tercentenary, the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* gives an account of their origin, form, object, and means of organization. The Brief eulogizing these Congregations is termed a pendant to the recent Encyclical denouncing Freemasonry, and it is hoped that the Servants of Mary may prove potent in counteracting the baneful influence of the secret societies. *Archbishop Egbert of Treves* is the title given to an article which discusses the question whether the marriage of the Emperor Otto the Second to a Greek bride had an influence in introducing a byzantine element into the art of the period. The epoch of history—from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh century—of which this prelate was one of the principal personages, is one of great interest, but amongst those least known to the general reader. Father Wasmann contributes an entertaining paper on the "honey ants of the garden of the gods." Attention has lately been drawn to the curious manner in which these insignificant but industrious and intelligent little insects collect and store up honey as a winter provision of food, by Dr. Cook of Philadelphia. The locality where they are found is situated in Colorado, and derives its name from the peculiar statuesque shape of the blocks of sandstone enclosing it. The habits and ways of the diminutive ant are now a subject of interest not only to specialists but to the public at large. Father Baumgartner continues the sprightly narrative of his journey northwards. Leaving the Faroe Islands where the "fisheries" are all-engrossing—fish the food of man and beast, fish the staple article of commerce, fish the one object of study and thought—he describes his entrance into a new world, imposing through the gloomy grandeur of its barren rocks and icy solitudes, taking the reader with him as far as Reykjavik, of unfamiliar aspect, where the arrival of the steamer was an event of no small consequence.

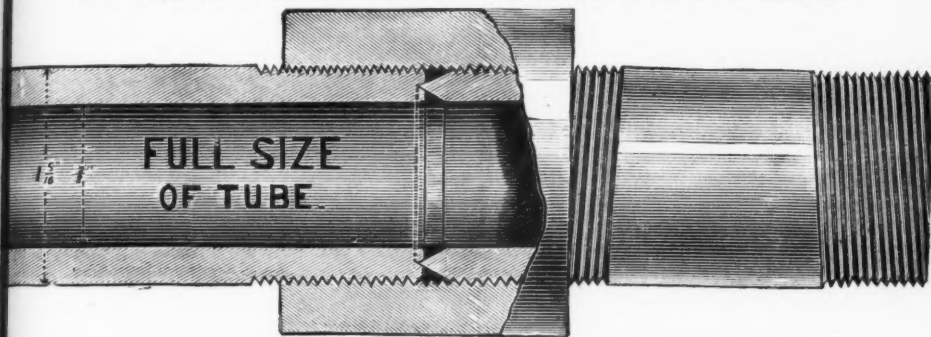
In the *Katholik* for August we have the conclusion of the essays which have shown how the doctrines of St. Thomas, far from being a servile imitation of the teaching of the great philo-

sophers of antiquity, correct and supersede it on the most important metaphysical questions. The outcome of the painstaking and thoughtful examination of Wyclif's claim to the gratitude of his country, which was commenced in the last issue, is not gratifying to those who exalt his merits, for they are proved to be simply nil, viewed merely from the literary standpoint, since there is no proof that he translated more than the four Gospels, and those he falsified to such an extent that their use was forbidden. The popular Protestant idea that the clergy withheld the Scriptures from the laity—arising perhaps in part from the prohibition of Wyclif's garbled version—is abundantly disproved. The very fact that so many previous translations and copies of the Bible existed—and these were wonderfully numerous, far more so than is generally supposed—is in itself an argument that they were placed within reach of the laity, since the Latin version sufficed for the clergy. God's Church ever takes care of God's children; not only were Bibles fixed on stands in the churches for the use of all who could read, but as early as 679, it was decreed by a Synod held in Rome, that the Scriptures should be read aloud for the benefit of the illiterate. Another volume of Acts from the State archives of Prussia has appeared, illustrative of the polity of Frederick the Second in ecclesiastical matters. The *Katholik* quotes several passages, which are far more interesting than extracts from Blue Books generally are. Frederick the Second could not endure that the Pope should have jurisdiction in his realm, and the means he employed to get the clergy into entire subjection to and dependence on the Crown, was by placing a creature of his own as coadjutor to every ecclesiastical dignitary, to act as a spy, and to step into the office if it fell vacant, at any rate to take charge of the temporalities until a successor should be nominated. A systematic course of oppression, and, as far as possible, suppression of Catholics seems to have been long pursued by Prussian monarchs. Until the commencement of the present century it appears to have occurred to no one to doubt that Shakespeare was a Protestant. Since then, his creed has been the theme of much discussion, both here and in Germany, where our great poet is more read and perhaps more esteemed than in our own country; the most comprehensive work on the subject being one lately published by Dr. Raich, of which an excellent synopsis is given in the *Katholik*. We have ourselves reviewed it elsewhere.

HEATING APPARATUS

The Most Economical and Effective.

THIS SIZE OF TUBE WAS FIRST INTRODUCED BY J. L. BACON.



REGISTERED TRADE MARK.

J. L. BACON AND CO.,

34, UPPER GLOUCESTER PLACE, LONDON, N.W.,

AND

8, COLLEGE STREET, DUBLIN,

27, CHICHESTER STREET, BELFAST,

& 157, BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW,

Will Furnish Estimates Free of Cost

FOR WARMING AND VENTILATING

Cathedrals, Churches, Convents, Colleges, Schools,

Institutions, and Private Houses,

WITH THEIR IMPROVED SYSTEM OF SMALL HOT WATER PIPES.

REFERENCE CAN BE MADE TO MANY OF THE

**Largest Catholic Institutions in
the Country.**

ILLUSTRATED PAMPHLET POST FREE.

Charles Eason's

EDITIONS OF

CATHOLIC PRAYER BOOKS.

(Published under Episcopal approbation.)

The Garden of the Soul. A Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions. Revised and improved. Containing all additional Devotions in general use. Five different editions, with and without Epistles and Gospels. From 6d. upwards.

The Key of Heaven. Or, a Manual of Prayer. By the late Rt. Rev. J. MURPHY, Catholic Bishop. Containing Indulged Prayers, Stations of the Cross, and other Devotions. With and without Epistles and Gospels. Six different editions. From 6d. upwards.

The Manual of Catholic Piety. By the late Rev. W. GAHAN, O.S.A. Revised and improved. Containing new Prayers and Devotions to the Sacred Heart, Hymns, &c. With and without Epistles and Gospels. Five different editions. From 6d. upwards.

The Treasury of the Sacred Heart. A New Manual of Prayer. Containing new Litanies, Acts of Devotion, and Indulged Prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart. 18mo. 740 pages. From 2s. 6d. upwards.
The same, with Epistles and Gospels. Abridged. Royal 32mo. 1s. 6d. upwards.

The Manual of Catholic Devotion. For Private Use, and the Services of the Church. 48mo. With and without Epistles and Gospels. From 4d. upwards.

The Path to Paradise. New edition, revised and improved. With Illustrations of the Mass, Stations of the Cross, &c. Three different editions. From 2d., 4d., 6d.

Holy Childhood. A Book of Simple Prayers and Instructions for Little Children. Large type edition, with illustrations. Royal 32mo. From 1s.
The same. Demy 32mo. 6d., 1s., 1s. 6d.

De Segur's Works for Little Children.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Child Jesus. 2. On Temptation and Sin. 3. On Holy Communion. | | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. On Prayer. 5. On Confession. 6. On Piety. |
|---|--|--|

In paper covers, each 3d. Cloth, 6d. Complete in one volume, cloth, 1s. 6d.

Child's Book of the Passion. A Simple Explanation of the Passion of our Lord. Paper covers, 3d.; cloth, 6d.

Several of the above are to be had on common paper for cheap distribution.

Lists to be had on application.

DUBLIN: CHARLES EASON, 85, MIDDLE ABBEY STREET.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY WILLIAMS AND BUTLAND, 13, DUKE STREET,
WEST SMITHFIELD, LONDON; AND COCHRAN AND CO., 32, CABLE STREET,
LIVERPOOL.

ROEHAMPTON: PRINTED BY JAMES STANLEY.

